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CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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By

The Oklahoma Historical Society

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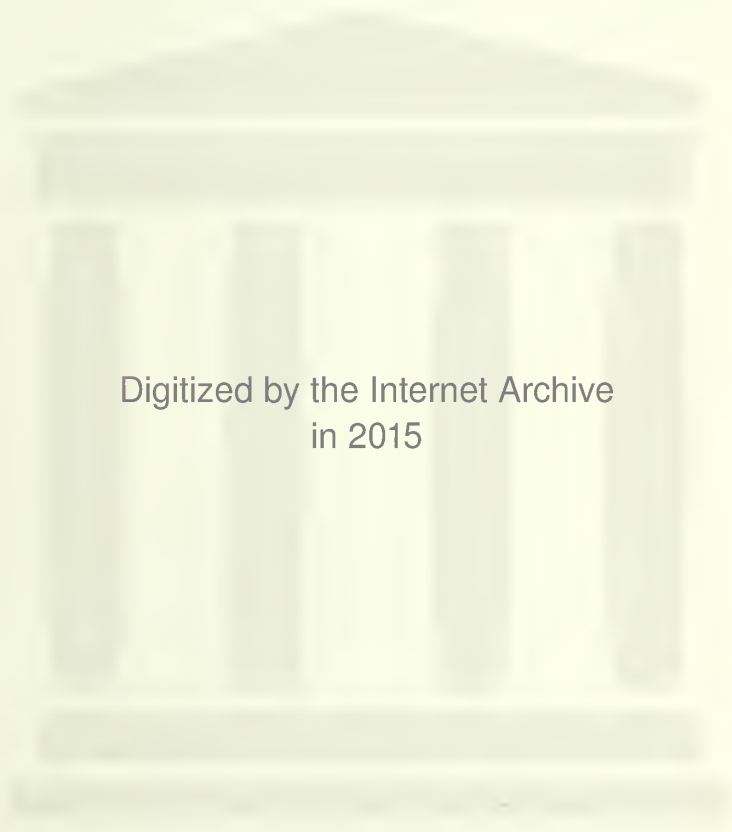
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Oklahoma Historical Society

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Chronicles of Oklahoma

Volume 1, No. 3

June, 1923

A letter recently received by the secretary of state and referred by that office to the Historical Society reads in part as follows: "I am writing a senior thesis on the 'History of Oklahoma Territory' up to the time of statehood, and it has been suggested to me by my history teacher that I write to you and see if you did not have some material on that subject, or could tell me where I could get such information." Is it possible that there is a teacher of history in an accredited high school in Oklahoma who is not sufficiently informed to direct a pupil to write to the Oklahoma Historical Society for such information?

Among the many interesting items added to the collection of the Oklahoma Historical Society during the past year was one deposited by Mr. R. S. Trulock of Oklahoma City, which includes a flint lock musket with bayonet, a brace of horse pistols, flint lock belt pistol, a saber with leather scabbard, and a large leather cartridge box, all of which date from the American Revolution; also one leather fire bucket and one iron lamp for whale oil or lard oil. The Revolutionary weapons have descended to Mr. Trulock from his great grand uncle, Captain Charles Beardsley of the Connecticut Continental Line. They are all in a remarkably fine state of preservation. The lock of the musket has stamped on it the Royal Crown and the letters "G. R." (Georgius Rex), thus indicating that it was captured from the British at Saratoga or elsewhere.

Public spirited citizens of Okmulgee have organized an association and have taken over the old Creek Council House for the purpose of establishing therein a library and museum for the proper housing and care of material pertaining to the Creek Nation of Indians. Such a worthy enterprise is deserving of high

commendation and the Oklahoma Historical Society bespeaks for it the generous support of the people of Okmulgee and of that part of the state which was formerly included within the limits of the Creek Nation, generally. Some of the older states, which in the point of area, are equal to but a mere fraction of that of Oklahoma, have each a number of local historical associations and societies. There is a field for several such organizations in Oklahoma.

The centennial of the establishment of Fort Gibson and of that of Fort Towson, will arrive during the coming spring. While the effort to have the last regular session of the Legislature provide for the celebration of such anniversaries, on a scale commensurate with their importance, failed of passage, there is no reason why both communities should not plan for an appropriate observance of the same. Such incidents are of real interest to the people of the state at large and there is no reason to believe that creditable celebrations cannot be arranged. Few people in Oklahoma can realize that these two first military posts were established so long ago that many of the officers and enlisted men of the garrisons were veterans of the Second War with Great Britain, which ended less than ten years before.

A number of Kiowa Indians, resident in Caddo, Comanche and Kiowa counties, are planning for a suitable celebration of the beginning of lasting peace between their tribe and the Government of the United States. The date of this memorable incident in their tribal history was June 2, 1875. They are proposing to erect a monument or marker to commemorate it, on the site of the council, near the northern base of Mount Sheridan.

The Oklahoma Historical Society moved into its present quarters in the basement of the new state capitol less than six years ago. At that time it was believed that the floor space then available would be sufficient to accommodate its expansion for at least eight or ten years. With only sixty to seventy-five per cent of that period elapsed, the Society's quarters are already comfortably filled. That they will be crowded before arrangements can be made for additional floor space and securing adequate equipment for the same, goes without saying. Although

there have been some suggestions and discussion of the matter of seeking to secure the erection of a special building for the housing of the Society's collections, it is believed that there is still room for expansion in the capitol, provided that proper equipment can be had.

The meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, in Oklahoma City, an account of proceedings of which is reproduced in this issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, marked an epoch in the development of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The privilege of meeting kindred spirits who are numbered among active workers in similar institutions in other states amounted to a real inspiration to the officers and directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. While the attendance was not so large as had been expected, and while the weather was scarcely up to the standard for springtime in Oklahoma, the visitors manifested such evident pleasure and satisfaction with the meeting and with the arrangements for their entertainment, that the anxieties of the hosts soon disappeared. The Oklahoma Historical Society benefitted greatly as the result of this meeting. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association and its active workers will always hold a high place in the esteem of the Oklahoma Society. This Society is under a very real obligation to Miss Margaret J. Mitchell, of the University of Oklahoma, to whose initiative and tireless efforts was due not only the bringing of this meeting to Oklahoma City, but also in helping to make it a success.

That popular interest in local history is increasing in Oklahoma is made manifest by the more numerous calls made upon the Oklahoma Historical Society for data and information pertaining to the same. Such requests come largely from teachers and from members of study clubs. The material asked for embraces a wide range of subjects, including not only the story of pioneer settlements, institutional life, Indian folklore, etc., but also information pertaining to Oklahoma writers and their literary productions. As far as possible the Society endeavors to comply with all such requests, though occasionally there is one of such comprehensiveness that it is unable to do so. Private initiative may be reasonably expected to supply much material

along these lines, and in attractive form. Oklahoma has a wealth of history, legendary lore and traditions which, in due time, must be made easily available for the average student and investigator. The Oklahoma Historical Society's mission is to gather and preserve this and help to make it available. Teachers, research students, writers, editors and commercial publishers must also have a part in it, however.

The collection of bound files of Oklahoma newspapers and other periodicals which has been gathered and preserved by the Oklahoma Historical Society is one of great value to the state. Less than a year ago a suit was filed in an Oklahoma court, the purpose of which was to invalidate the title to a piece of property upon which the state had built one of its most important reformatory institutions. The suit was made possible because of an error made by a publisher in filing proof of publication of notice to sell the property in question, in the settlement of the estate of a decedent owner. The plant and files of the paper which had published the advertisement had been destroyed by fire in the meantime. A file of the same paper, bound and preserved by the Oklahoma Historical Society, saved the state from having to defend its title in an expensive lawsuit. The value of such a collection will become increasingly apparent as the years go by.

Before he left the office of state superintendent of instruction, Hon. R. H. Wilson turned over to the Oklahoma Historical Society the service flag of the Oklahoma teachers in the World War. It contains the stars and crosses of 1262 Oklahoma educators who served in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Red Cross units in 1917 and 1918. Of these, fourteen stars and one cross are of gold, representing those who made the supreme sacrifice. The flag is accompanied by a neatly compiled album containing the essential data, all names being listed alphabetically and also by counties, and each star and cross is listed as representing a particular individual. This honor roll was compiled by Mrs. Emma Harselle-Estill, head of the department of history in the Central State Teachers' College and the flag was made by Mrs. Luella Covelle, of Edmond. Miss Jessie Watson, secretary of the Central Normal, typed the directory. The flag was formally presented to the Oklahoma Educational Association, November 29, 1918. The Society is glad to give this memento a place in its archives and only regrets its limited facilities for properly displaying the same.

Book Reviews

A book of pertinent historical interest in Oklahoma is a recently published volume entitled "The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War," by Wiley Britton, issued from the press of the Franklin Hudson Publishing Company, of Kansas City, Mo. The author of this volume served as an enlisted man in the Federal Army, in the Indian Territory and the neighboring states of Arkansas, Kansas and Missouri during the Civil War and, many years ago, wrote and published a two-volume work entitled "The Civil War on the Border." The present volume is virtually a history of the Civil War in the Indian Territory with particular reference to the participation of the three military units designated respectively as the First, Second and Third Regiments of the Indian Home Guard, which were recruited among the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole tribes and mustered into the Federal Service. The author has not entirely eliminated the personal element, as he has drawn freely from the diary which he kept while serving as a soldier. Many details of the organization and commissioned personnel of the three Indian regiments in the Federal service are lacking. The book may be accepted as an authoritative work, however, since it throws much new light on the subject and because it presents the statements of an eye-witness to many of the incidents related. The price of the volume is \$4.00. It is for sale by the author, whose address is Kansas City, Kansas.

—Joseph B. Thoburn.

One of the recent works of special interest to Oklahomans is "The Chickasaw Nation," written by Hon. James H. Malone, of Memphis, Tenn., and published by John P. Morton & Co., of Louisville, Ky. Among the many original sources listed in the bibliography, the earliest are the narratives written by the explorers of the De Soto expedition in 1541, who were eye-witnesses to Chickasaw characteristics and customs of that time. The data from these narratives and other early chronicles make the first 400 pages of Judge Malone's volume by far the

most interesting and instructive part of this history. It is to be regretted that the author could not have been a resident of the the Chickasaw Nation in Oklahoma, so that he might have given a more detailed, first-hand account of the tribal history since its removal West in 1837. For this reason some of the later details of "The Chickasaw Nation" may be challenged by other historians, but this is due rather to an over-zealous enthusiasm on Judge Malone's part than to any intention of deviating from the facts. With a word as to the personality of the author, it may be said that Hon. James H. Malone is a prominent lawyer of Tennessee. Judge Malone has been associated with reform work in connection with the Tennessee Bar Association for over thirty-eight years. He has been mayor of Memphis, and has been active in many matters of public interest in his native state. He is a scholar of long years of study and extensive travel and is well fitted for the task he has completed, as much time and effort were spent upon the necessary details for his recent work. The Chickasaws may well be proud to have had such a friend to champion their cause historically.

—Muriel H. Wright.

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The following account of the meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was furnished by the secretary, Mrs. Clara S. Paine:

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held in Oklahoma City March 29-31. The session opened Thursday morning at 10 o'clock in the Huckins Hotel, Solon J. Buck, president of the association, presiding. The program was carried out as printed, with the exception of the first paper by Dr. Isaac J. Cox of Northwestern University, who was unable to be present.

The session Thursday afternoon was presided over by William E. Connelley, secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society. Ralph P. Bieber read a paper upon "Some Aspects of the Santa Fe Trail, 1838-1880." Harriet Smither of the University of Texas read a paper upon "The English Abolition Movement and the Annexation of Texas." Mr. Theodore Gronert had for his subject, "Voluntary Military Organization Just Previous to the Civil War."

At 6:30 p. m., the members of the Association were entertained at dinner in the ball room of the Huckins Hotel by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Welcoming addresses were made by Mr. Jasper Sipes, president of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and by Dr. Ernest T. Bynum, representing the Honorable J. C. Walton, governor of Oklahoma, who was unable to be present. Following the dinner, Solon Justus Buck gave his presidential address. After the program, Oklahoma City Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, tendered a reception to the members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and invited guests.

On Friday the meetings were held in Norman at the University of Oklahoma, Roy Gittinger presiding. The program was carried out as printed. Luncheon was served in The Teepee and an Indian feature program was given by the University of Oklahoma Indian Club. An address of welcome was given by Dean J. S. Buchanan of the University of Oklahoma. The annual business meeting followed. The officers elected for the

coming year were Eugene C. Barker, University of Texas, president; Mrs. Clarence S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska, secretary-treasurer; members of the executive committee for three years, Theodore C. Pease of the University of Illinois, Roy Gittinger of the University of Oklahoma, Wilson P. Shortridge of the University of West Virginia. Mr. Thomas P. Martin of the University of Louisville was elected a member of the executive committee of the teachers' section for three years and chairman for one year. Miss Bessie Pierce was re-elected secretary of the teachers' section for three years. Mr. Lester B. Shippee of the University of Minnesota was made assistant managing editor of the Review for three years, and Miss Louise P. Kellogg of the Wisconsin Historical Society and Herbert A. Kellar of the McCormick Historical Society of Chicago were elected members of the board of editors for three years.

The report of the resolutions committee was as follows:

1. The officers of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association are to be commended for their efficient management of the affairs of the association during the past year; and especially is the secretary-treasurer of the association, Mrs. C. S. Paine, to be commended for her success in smoothing out the financial difficulties of the association and in holding the membership to a high standard of interest and co-operation.

2. The program of the sixteenth annual meeting of the association, as arranged by the program committee, is recognized as most instructive, stimulating and interesting.

3. For the successful carrying out of the program and the careful planning and execution of all local arrangements necessary to the convenience, comfort and enjoyment of the visiting members of the association we express out grateful appreciation.

To the Oklahoma Historical Society and herein especially to President Jasper Sipes, Secretary J. B. Thoburn, Mr. C. W. Turner and Miss Margaret Mitchell.

To the University of Oklahoma, and herein especially to President Stratton D. Brooks, Dean J. S. Buchanan, Dean Roy Gittinger, Dr. E. E. Dale, Dr. A. K. Christian and Miss Margaret Mitchell.

To the Oklahoma Teachers' Mutual Association, and herein especially to Miss Jeanette Gordon.

To the Executive Council of the Oklahoma City Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and herein especially to the regent, Mrs. A. R. Hickam.

To the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce, and herein especially to Assistant Manager Stanley E. Draper, and

To the management of the Huckins Hotel.

We are indebted to Governor J. C. Walton for extending to the members of the association the freedom of the Capitol Building on Saturday morning.

Finally, we are most grateful to Miss Margaret Mitchell, whose devotion to the association and whose loyalty to Oklahoma brought us to this great commonwealth and to this delightful city.

Since the last convocation of this association, death has called John B. White of Kansas City and Frank Hamlin of Chicago, life members, and John M. Lansdell, Cairo, Illinois, William Radebaugh, Chicago, John H. Patterson, Dayton, Ohio, Anton Classen, Oklahoma City; Hiram Heaton, Lockridge, Iowa; Albert Bettinger, Cincinnati, and Robert Glasgow, New York, sustaining members. We record these deaths with sorrow and a deep sense of their loss to the field of American history. We extend sincere sympathy to their families and friends.

Filled with the spirit of Soonerland, we leave this meeting determined to do all in our power in this material age to prevent the stressing of the material at the expense of spiritual and ethical values.

BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH,

Chairman,

DOANE ROBINSON,

J. R. H. MOORE.

The association returned to Oklahoma City Friday evening for dinner in the Huckins Hotel, tendered by the Teachers' Mutual Association of Oklahoma City, Mr. I. W. Baker presiding. Dr. A. C. Scott gave a very interesting account of the opening of Oklahoma for settlement and the story of Oklahoma City.

The regular evening session was called to order at 8:30 p. m., Dr. Eugene C. Barker, newly elected president, presiding.

On Saturday morning the members of the association were taken by automobile to the State House and the program was given in the supreme court chamber, Jasper Sipes of the Oklahoma Historical Society presiding. On Thursday afternoon and Saturday afternoon, cars were provided to take the visitors about the city and a large party went to El Reno. The association has never been better entertained than at Oklahoma City, and in every way it was one of the best meetings ever held.

Special mention should be made of the teachers' session on Friday afternoon. Mr. Edward Davis presided. Papers were read by Miss Floy Dawson on "Latin-American History in the High School." F. V. Abernathy talked on "Community Civics and the Development of Citizenship," and Mr. James C. Malin presented a paper upon "An Interpretation of Recent American History." The paper by Mr. Maurice L. Wardell on a "Compulsory Course in American History" was read in the evening.

THE SPIRIT OF SOONER LAND

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

University of Oklahoma

It is an old axiom that the roots of the present lie deep in the past. "Behind institutions," says Professor J. Turner, "behind constitutional forms and modifications lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet the changing conditions."¹

The Easterner who visits Oklahoma for the first time often expresses surprise at finding conditions here so similar to those of much older settled regions. Remembering that the State of Oklahoma is barely sixteen years old and that the first opening of lands to white settlement came less than thirty-five years ago, the visitor from the North or East hardly expects to see thriving cities with all modern appointments, well tilled farms with attractive buildings, and scores of busy towns and villages, quite as modern as those of similar size in his own State. He sees on every hand evidences of prosperity and progress; there is little or nothing to remind him of those stark pioneer days so recent as to be a vivid memory to many comparatively young men still living in the State. The casual visitor is therefore likely to gain the impression that Oklahoma and Oklahomans are identical with any other fairly new western state and its inhabitants.

However, if he remains long and is a person of cultivation and scholarly instincts he will discover soon that there is a difference. That there are some evident peculiarities here and that the reasons for these peculiarities must be sought in Oklahoma's strange and varied history. The reasons then for the peculiarities, those vital forces which have helped to shape Oklahoma's institutions and social conditions and to differentiate them from those of other states are the things treated in this paper with the object of trying to show why Oklahoma society is different from

¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 2.

that of any other state possessing, as it does, a certain intangible quality which for want of a better term may be called the "Spirit of Sooner Land."

The most significant thing in all Oklahoma history has been the Indian occupation of this region. It is the fact that for more than half a century Oklahoma was a great Indian territory owned exclusively by many tribes of varying degrees of civilization holding their lands in common and living under some form of tribal government. A recent report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gives the number of Indians in the United States as about 335,000. Of these 120,000, or considerably more than one-third, live in Oklahoma.² They include remnants of some sixty-five or seventy tribes but approximately four-fifths belong to the Five Civilized Tribes of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole.

Anglo-Saxon greed and the lust for land drove the red man westward. Then there was some faint stirring of the white man's conscience and an effort was made to make these people secure in this last home that was left to them with the result that whites were forbidden to enter this region. It was as though a dike or wall had been erected about Oklahoma by governmental decree—a wall impervious to the waves of white settlement that beat and surged against it. Here for fifty years and more lay this great Indian country, a region larger than all New England, an attractive but little inhabited island of wilderness in the midst of swirling currents of civilization.³ Slowly the pioneer settlers crept westward on either side enveloping it but the wall held firm. However, in advance of agricultural settlement on the western plains came the ranchmen with their flocks and herds eager to take possession of the rich pasture lands left vacant by the slaughter of the buffalo. Attracted by the excellent pasturage those ranchmen at last began to trickle through the barrier erected about Oklahoma and to occupy the Indian lands with their herds. An industry more fluid in its nature than agriculture began to penetrate this dike, that had proved impervious to white settlement in the ordinary sense of the term, and to spread itself over the fertile pasture lands within.

² Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1916, pp. 73-74.

³ New England contains about 66,460 square miles; Oklahoma, including the Panhandle, contains 70,057.

For a brief period the ranchmen held sway, particularly in western Oklahoma, pasturing the land by virtue of agreements made with bands of savage tribesmen or of acts of the legislative bodies of the more civilized tribes, passed in some cases through the influence of the cattlemen.⁴

Seeking as they did to discourage the opening of those Indian lands to agricultural settlement, the ranchmen by their very presence did much to render such action inevitable. Soon it came. The pressure from without became too strong to be resisted; the barrier gave way and a flood of pioneer settlers came pouring in, peopling Oklahoma with a farming population whose society and methods of agriculture were primitive enough at first but which steadily advanced, making the region one of improved agriculture where in time grew up cities and towns and all the complex organizations of industrial and commercial life. Oklahoma history is therefore but a part of a much larger history, that of the conquest and development of the American Wilderness. This is a movement that has always been characterized by the appearance of successive stages of society, that of the hunter and Indian trader, of the pastoral stage; followed in turn by primitive agriculture, by higher forms of agriculture, by towns and cities, factories and commerce. Most parts of the United States have gone through all these stages of social development. The remarkable thing about Oklahoma is that it has seen them all in the space of little more than a quarter of a century.

Viewed from this standpoint, Oklahoma history is the story of the evolution of civilization, of the development of society, of human progress. This marvelously rapid change, this phenomenal development has been the greatest thing in the State's history and has given to present conditions in Oklahoma their most distinguishing characteristics.

Viewed from another standpoint, the development of Oklahoma, so far as the mere peopling of the region is concerned, may be divided into two periods: that of settlement by the Indian and that of settlement by the white man. The first began about 1820 and continued with various breaks and intermis-

⁴ See Edward Everett Dale, *The Ranchman's Last Frontier*, in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1923, for a brief account of the activities of the ranchmen in Oklahoma.

sions until about 1880.⁵ The white settlement of western Oklahoma began with the opening of "Old Oklahoma" to settlement in 1889 and ended, technically speaking, in 1906, with the auction sale of the lands of the Big Pasture.⁶ Naturally there has been a great influx of people since that time but this was a normal settlement the same as that of nearly every other western state. During the first period, that of Indian settlement, much of Oklahoma was little more than a wilderness. During the second period, the part occupied by whites was largely speaking in the stage of more or less primitive agriculture, while between the two and well overlapping each of them lay that brief space of time when the power of the ranchman was at its height.

Certain significant features of each of these periods must be noted because of their influence upon present day conditions. The Five Civilized Tribes in their old home in Tennessee and the Gulf States occupied what may be described as a strategic region. Holding as they did the passes through the Southern Appalachians, and also the lower reaches of the Mississippi, as well as the headwaters of many of its tributaries and of the streams that flow into the Gulf, it was inevitable that any people who expected to hold the mouth of the Mississippi or the shores of the Gulf of Mexico must reckon with them. As a result they very early came in contact with the Spanish, the French and the English, each of which intrigued with them constantly and ceaselessly sought to win their favor. These tribes thus became schooled quite early in the arts of diplomacy and political intrigue. The training received in playing off one European nation against the other they later used, and still further developed, in negotiations with the United States relative to their removal to Oklahoma, and even after they had reached the State in the constant struggle they were forced to make in order to retain their lands and to prevent legislation by Congress unfavorable to what they considered their best interests.⁷

Just as the pioneer settler among the Indians soon discov-

5 See Chas. J. Kappler, *Indian Laws and Treaties or U. S. Statutes at Large for the treaties removing various Indian tribes to Oklahoma.*

6 See S. J. Buck, *Oklahoma*, in *Wisconsin Academy Transactions*, XV., p. 235 or Emma Estill, *Openings of Oklahoma Lands to Settlement*, for accounts of the white settlement of Oklahoma lands.

7 An examination of the private papers of John Ross, General Stand Watie, or any other of the great leaders of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes must convince the reader that these were men of rare political ability.

ered that he must learn the ways of savage warfare, that he must match skill with skill and cunning with cunning, that he must all too often change from a man of peace to a man of war, so did the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes eventually discover that they could not stand against the whites in the field of battle and must, if they expected to hold their lands and survive as nations, learn to beat the white man at his own game of diplomacy and intrigue. Like the Jews of medieval Europe, who found that they must develop their commercial ability to the highest point, because safety from persecution lay in the possession of wealth, so did the Indian find that he must advance in political ability in order to gain or hold by negotiation what he had found he could not gain or hold by force of arms. Interest in politics was also greatly fostered by the fact that these tribes were virtually independent nations, small enough for any citizen to aspire to the highest office in the gift of his people, and were in many cases divided into parties and factions that frequently made political contests within the tribe extremely bitter. All these things served in time to make the Five Civilized Tribes nations of diplomats and skilled politicians.

The results are obvious to the student of Oklahoma history. Oklahoma has received the benefit, if it is a benefit, of this heritage of political training coming to the people of eastern Oklahoma through generations, extending back to the time when Spain, France and England struggled together for the possession of this continent, each seeking as allies the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes.

In the formation of the State government, the control of the Constitutional Convention fell largely into the hands of that group of men from eastern Oklahoma, who had been trained in the hard school of Indian politics. The president of the Constitutional Convention was an intermarried citizen and had been prominent in the public affairs of his wife's tribe.⁸ The Sergeant-at-Arms of this body was Indian, while some 20 per cent of its membership were either Indians or intermarried citizens.⁹

⁸ William H. Murray, President of the Constitutional Convention, married a niece of Governor Johnston of the Chickasaw Nation. He was for some time private secretary to Governor Johnston and in this way became very familiar with the tribal affairs of Oklahoma.

⁹ Among the prominent members of the Constitutional Government of Indian blood were O. H. P. Brewer, B. F. Harrison, Gabe Parker, Albert S. Wyly, H. L. Cloud, Chas. O. Frye, C. V. Rogers and a number of others, in addition to quite a number of intermarried citizens.

The first three Governors of the State of Oklahoma came from the region of the Five Civilized Tribes and one of them was an intermarried citizen of the Chickasaw tribe.¹⁰ One of our United States senators is Indian and had long years experience with the tribal affairs of his people.¹¹ Among the Oklahoma Representatives in Congress there has always been one Indian and usually two, as at present.¹² Every State Legislature has had many prominent members of Indian blood. The Speaker of the lower House twelve years ago was Indian, the Speaker of the present House is Indian.¹³ A people numbering less than 6 per cent of the total population has given to Oklahoma perhaps 20 to 25 per cent of its most prominent public men.¹⁴ It is not claimed that there is any magic in Indian blood to make its possessor a statesman. The conditions here given are due largely to the long experience of these men in tribal affairs and to a certain solidarity, or race consciousness on the part of the Indian peoples that sometimes gives the Indian candidate for office a distinct advantage over his white opponent.

Important as has been the influence of the Indian upon Oklahoma politics, his influence upon the economic and social conditions of the State have been hardly less striking. Contrary to popular opinion the Indian is not dying out. The number of full bloods is decreasing very rapidly but the number of mixed bloods is increasing with proportional rapidity. Except in the case of a very few individuals there is no prejudice in Oklahoma against Indian blood. It is recognized as very good blood and a cause for pride.

The Indian is advancing rapidly educationally and this naturally draws the races closer together and serves to obliterate differences. There are nearly two hundred students of Indian blood enrolled in the University of Oklahoma, while the Cherokee actually have a larger percentage of their children attend-

¹⁰ Lee Cruce, the second Governor, married a member of the Chickasaw tribe.

¹¹ Robert L. Owen was for several years Indian agent for the Union Agency, which had charge of all the Five Civilized Tribes.

¹² W. W. Hastings, of the second district, is Cherokee, while C. D. Carter, of the third district, is Chickasaw.

¹³ W. A. Durant, of the Choctaw Nation, was Speaker of the House during the sessions of the Third Legislature, while Murray Gibbons, of the Chickasaw tribe, is Speaker of the present or Ninth Legislature.

¹⁴ See *Daily Oklahoman* for June 17, 1923, for an article giving a list of Indians holding important state offices in Oklahoma.

ing school than have the whites of Oklahoma.¹⁵ Intermarriage is absorbing the Indian very rapidly into the white. The physical characteristics of the race are fading out. Yet there will never be less Indian blood in Oklahoma than at present. It will merely be more widely diffused.

Into the fabric of Oklahoma's citizenship then there is being steadily woven this red thread of the Indian. Steadily the Indian blood is becoming more thoroughly distributed, the Indian characteristics of patience, of perseverance, of steadfast loyalty to a friend and stern hatred for a foe are becoming more and more widely disseminated. People of Indian blood are to be found in every business and profession giving a flavor to Oklahoma society, adding their bit to the Spirit of Soonerland. Perhaps the time may come when the Indian, recognizable as such, may have almost ceased to exist in Oklahoma, but may this not be a case of he who loses his life shall find it, to the end that the influence of Indian blood in Oklahoma shall be infinitely greater in the future than it has ever been in the past?

Important as has been this period of Indian occupation, the coming of the white settlers has not been without its significance also. Migration westward in the United States has usually been more or less along parallel lines but Oklahoma settlement was a gathering in of people from all points of the compass. The method of settlement was peculiar. The peopling of most western states has been by a slow, steady infiltration, that of much of Oklahoma was by a series of sudden rushes, a throwing down of barriers all at once which allowed large areas to be occupied in a single day. The settling of most states has been like the slow leaking of water into the hold of an old type ship; that of Oklahoma was like the sudden bursting of water into a modern vessel divided into many water tight compartments. The first rush filled one compartment, then the others were filled, one by one, until at last the interior walls gave way and the entire vessel was full. The West has always attracted the strong, active and adventurous, but this was particularly true of Oklahoma because of this method of settlement. The people who came to win a home in this region must of necessity be strong, virile, aggressive. The race was to the swift, the battle of the strong.

¹⁵ Report of the Survey of Public Education in Oklahoma, p. 316, and Ninth Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Oklahoma, p. 7.

As a writer of that time put it, Oklahoma made an addition to the old saying: "Autocracy, to every man according to his breed; plutocracy, to every man according to his greed; democracy, to every man according to his deed." To this Oklahoma added, in the days of the runs, "Mobocracy, to every man according to his speed."

This meant young people and Oklahoma became a real kingdom of youth. This is a characteristic that has persisted down to the present time. Oklahomans who visit New England for the first time are struck with surprise at the number of old people they see everywhere. New Englanders visiting Oklahoma for the first time almost invariably speak of the youth of the people.

But free farms have not been the only thing to attract young, vigorous, aggressive people to Oklahoma. Curiously enough, about the time free land of western Oklahoma was all gone came the beginning of that marvelous oil development operating in a fashion not unlike that of the former land runs.

The discovery of each new oil field brought results something like those of the former opening of Indian reservations to settlement, causing a new run of hardy, adventurous young people, a run partaking somewhat of the nature of the former ones for claims. Thus Oklahoma became filled with young people, of this active, virile type, eager to improve their worldly condition, willing to take a chance, counting the amount of material gain the true standard of success. Under their compelling hands, towns and cities arose like magic, wealth came to thousands within a brief space of time, and Oklahoma began to come into her own.

The results of this history so hastily sketched are not far to seek. Politically they may be seen in the State government regarded as quite radical fifteen years ago and still considered somewhat so by the inhabitants of the older and more conservative states of the East. Any radicalism or peculiar features in

the State government is largely due to the fact that the people of Oklahoma came from virtually every state in the Union, each settler bringing with him ideas formed because of conditions in his own particular commonwealth, ideas which he was eager to see put into operation in this new State.¹⁶ Oklahoma with a population coming from every state in the Union early put into its fundamental law and statutes, provisions borrowed from virtually every other commonwealth, as well as certain original things which it was difficult for older and more conservative states to try out.

The peculiar history of Oklahoma has produced even more striking economic and social results than it has political. It has given the State a population thoroughly imbued with that somewhat intangible thing which the students of the University of Oklahoma call "Sooner Spirit." Briefly stated, it is merely a spirit of youth, of daring, of optimism, of belief in one's self, and in the future. It manifests itself in an eagerness for action, a desire for adventure, a willingness to take a chance. It is a pioneering spirit. Half a dozen years ago, when the possibilities of oil in north Texas were under consideration, it was Oklahoma capitalists who rushed in where the Eastern financiers dared not tread, venturing their money in the opening up of the magnificent Burkburnett and Ranger fields. In every economic and social activity this splendid spirit of youth, of energy, of optimism, of eager willingness to dare and do, has manifested itself. Born of our remarkable history, it has builded cities, and opened up farms and wrung the rich mineral treasures from the heart of the earth. It has erected home and schools and churches and colleges. It points with pride to what has been accomplished and holds out brilliant promises for the future.

Admirable in many respects as is a society with such an inheritance and thoroughly permeated with such a spirit, it is not

¹⁶ See S. J. Buck, *Oklahoma*, Wisconsin Academy Transactions XV, for figures showing what percentages of the inhabitants of Oklahoma Territory came from the various states and sections.

without its weaknesses and its dangers. In the midst of our activity, we have come to over-emphasize the importance of the man of action as compared with the man of thought. In our buoyant youth we have the faults of youth. They manifest themselves in our speech, our work, our dress, our amusements. There is too little regard for the wisdom that comes with age and experience and training. In the evolution of society, to which reference has been made, we have seen such vast changes and always for the better, that there is danger we may come to regard mere change as progress and so not allow sufficient time really to test anything before we wish to go on to something new. In the abundance of our natural resources we forget that these should be conserved and become wasteful and inefficient in their use.

Very seriously should we in Oklahoma consider whether in our pride at what we have already done we may not be wasting too much time to shouting it from the house tops and calling all the world to come and see, heedless of the fact that there is yet much to do in the accomplishment of which this time might be better spent. Most important of all, in the midst of our building of homes and churches and cities it is possible that we may come to regard fine buildings and furniture and equipment as ends in themselves rather than as means to the end.

The writer has tried to show that these defects and dangers in common with our virtues and strength are the natural and even inevitable results of our curious history. Oklahoma could not at present be other than it is, but the future will doubtless tell a far different story.

The old time Oklahoma pioneer had his vision, as Professor Becker in his brilliant essay on "Kansas" so well puts it, "he had seen, like Augustine, his city of God," and this sight sustained him through all the trials and hardships of the early days.¹⁷ Like Christian he saw afar off the Celestial City. It was a city of

¹⁷ Carl Lotus Becker, *Kansas*, in *Turner Essays*, p. 97.

golden streets and magnificent mansions; in short, of wonderful physical greatness. He saw his rude sod shanty transformed into a comfortable farmhouse, the nearby village of two stores and a blacksmith shop into a thriving town with paved streets, water works, and brick business blocks. He saw good roads, rural mail delivery, telephones, electric lights and all the comforts of civilization. That dream has now come true.

But in his eager seeking after things of the flesh it was perhaps inevitable that the Oklahoma pioneer should neglect the things of the spirit. The report of the recent educational survey made of Oklahoma by the Federal government presents a far from flattering picture.¹⁸ Physically speaking, materially considered, frontier conditions in Oklahoma have gone forever. But culturally we are yet pioneers living upon our intellectual frontier. The material wilderness has been conquered, it yet remains to complete the conquest of the cultural and intellectual wilderness. Perhaps it will be more difficult process for a society such as ours but there are in Oklahoma many old time pioneers who have caught a vision of this new Celestial City and are bending every effort to the task of making their dreams come true.

That we shall succeed no one can seriously doubt. We are succeeding. The annual enrollment of students in the University of Oklahoma has risen from seven hundred in 1907 to more than five thousand in 1922.¹⁹ The little red school house is fast giving place to the consolidated school with its modern brick building, well-trained teachers and full four-year high school course of study. At least one county has merged all of its rural districts into twenty-three such units, while the total number of consolidated schools has risen from none in 1907 to 378 in 1920.²⁰ The total expenditure for public schools in the State has in-

18 See Report of a Survey of Public Education in Oklahoma, 1922, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education.

19 Ninth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oklahoma, p. 86.

20 Ninth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oklahoma, p. 31. See daily Oklahoman for March 25, 1923, for article describing the consolidated schools of Jackson County.

creased from eight and one-half million dollars in 1910 to more than twenty-eight million dollars in 1921.²¹ In every line of intellectual activity our people are showing increasing interest and making steady progress. Oklahoma has not yet arrived, perhaps, but it is on the road and traveling fast. Frankly admitting that much yet remains to be done, the writer feels nevertheless that Sooner Spirit which has done so much in a physical way the past quarter of a century, will in time triumph over every difficulty and eventually place Oklahoma upon an intellectual and cultural basis commensurate with its position, materially.

²¹ Ninth Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Oklahoma, p. 12.

THE LAST OF THE CHEROKEES IN TEXAS, AND THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CHIEF BOWLES.

By ALBERT WOLDERT, M. D.

Tyler, Texas.

It was not until spring of the year 1836 that the separate political destiny of the State of Texas was decided. Mexico still laid claims to all of Texas, while a treaty made by a commission of Texans and the Cherokee Indians and their associated tribes involved a wide strip of rich territory in eastern Texas, lying north of the old San Antonio road (Camino el Real), between the Neches, and Sabine river, and in the original Spanish grant of Filisola. Historic events, occurring in the early part of the year 1836 and subsequently, came on with such rapidity that only fragmentary statements as to precise dates and places were preserved as a matter of history, thus leading to considerable confusion as to the definite localities where important battles were fought between the Texans and the Cherokees, and ending in the expulsion of the latter from Texas forever.

The histories of Texas being written at the present day are entirely too silent regarding this entire matter, and some of them dismiss the subject in only a few brief lines. It has occurred to the writer that at least one of the greatest battles ever fought with the Indians in Texas, in which about 800 Indians were engaged on the one side, and about 500 Texans on the other, with many casualties, should receive greater attention by historians of the present day. The name of one Indian—Chief Bowles, of the Cherokees—stands out prominently in these historic events, and the writer has paid particular attention to him.

On account of the importance of this subject and, in order to record the events in chronologic order, the author has devoted much time in endeavoring to secure correct data from elderly persons now living and from libraries situated in the states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia

and Texas, and from numerous histories of Texas, and such data is embodied herewith.

The Cherokees

According to Starr¹ the name "Cherokee" is derived from the word "a-che-la" meaning fire, and the word "ah-gi", he takes. The expression has its origin in the belief that the Great Spirit gave to this tribe a sacred fire with the admonition that they were to keep it perpetually burning, and that on this fire the "kutani" or priests were to offer sacrifices.

As to the origin of the Cherokees, Powell² states: "That the Iroquoian stock to which the Cherokees (Chalagues) belonged had its chief home in the north, its tribes occupying a compact territory which comprised portions of Ontario, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania almost to the latitude of Washington. Another body including the Tuscarora, Nottoway, and perhaps also the Meherrin, occupied territory in northeastern North Carolina and the adjacent portion of Virginia. The Cherokees themselves constituted the third and southernmost body. They were the mountaineers of the South occupying the territory along the Alleghanies from Kanawha and the Tennessee almost to Atlanta, and from the Blue Ridge on the east to the Cumberland range on the west, a territory upward of 40,000 square miles. Echota on the south bank of the Little Tennessee river was considered to be the capital of the Nation. Hereditary wars with the creeks, and along their boundaries with the Tuscaroras and Catawbias, kept them constantly engaged.

Starr ³ says: "That the religion of the Cherokees was an obscure polytheism. The sun, their superior diety, was called 'The Apportioner,' dividing time into day and night, giving the four seasons, as well as the giver of the 'divine fire' of their ancestors. Ranking as their gods were the 'Long Man,' the representative of the water; the 'Red Man,' representative of the east, possibly from the rising moon. 'Little Man,' who lived in the thunder; 'Little People,' fairies in the rocks of the cliffs, etc. Conjurors were many among these aborigines and the Cherokees believed that through the mystical efforts of these persons they

1 Starr, "Early History of The Cherokees," Claremore, Okla.

2 Powell; 19th Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

3 Starr; Ibid No. 1.

could cure diseases (snake bites), cause rain, produce death and harm to any one with whom they became displeased, without regard to distances."

The First Cherokees to Enter Texas

In the winter of 1819 and 1820 Chief Bowles (or Bowl) led sixty of his warriors, probably of the hunter class of Indians, and their families from Arkansas into Texas, these being the first civilized tribe of Indians, perhaps, to find their way into this state. According to King:⁴ "In the year 1822 a convention was made between the Cherokees and the empire of Mexico by which the Cherokees in Texas were permitted to occupy and cultivate certain lands of eastern Texas in consideration of fealty and service in case of war. Neither the empire, however, nor its successor, the Republic of Mexico, would consent to part with sovereignty in the soil, and persistently refused any other rights than those of domicile and tillage."

It should be recalled to mind that until the year 1824, Texas had been a province of Mexico with a department representing its capital situated at San Antonio. In that year the State of Coahuila and Texas was created, much against the will of the citizens of Texas, but it so remained until the year 1835. Shortly before the year 1835 important events began to occur in rapid succession in Texas. Her people had grown restless under Mexican misrule and oppression, and with a spirit of revolution began to organize and, on November 13, 1835, through their general council or consultation, created a provisional government. The day previously Henry Smith was elected governor, and James W. Robinson, lieutenant governor of Texas.

At last the Mexican authorities began to realize the possible loss of sovereignty of one of its richest possessions, which it sought to fortify by calling to aid the Cherokee Indians, together with their associate tribes, also regarded as adherents of Mexico and looked upon by those in authority in Mexico as being only tenants or occupants of the soil at the will of the sovereign. The Texans, having made rapid strides in growth and development, now realizing their own power, and with the hope of achieving complete independence began to exhibit a more defiant attitude toward Mexico, at the same time endeavoring to

⁴ King; Texas Historical Association Quarterly, July, 1898.

win the favor and allegiance of the Cherokees. With the view of obtaining a better understanding between the whites and Cherokees (and with the associate bands of the latter), Governor Henry Smith on December 28, 1835, commissioned General Sam Houston, Colonel John Forbes and John Cameron, Esq., to meet and form a treaty with the Cherokees and associates for the purpose of effecting a mutual understanding with the Indians, including their rights as occupants of the soil.

This commission met with the Cherokees and their associates and concluded and signed a treaty with the Cherokees and their twelve associate bands then residing in Texas. On behalf of the Texans this treaty was signed by General Sam Houston and Colonel John Forbes; while the following named represented and signed for the Indians: Colonel Bowles, Big Mush, Samuel Benge, Osoota, Corn Tasele, The Egg, John Bowl and Tenuta, this commission from the Indians representing the Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, Kickapoos, Quapaws, Buloies, Iowanes, Alabamas, Coshaties, Caddos of Neches, Tamocuttakes, Untangous, "By the head chiefs and head men and warriors of the Cherokees as elder brother and representation of all other bands agreeable to their last council, done at the village of Colonel Bowl on the 33rd day of February, 1836."

In substance this treaty recited: That the parties declare that there should be a firm and lasting peace forever, and that friendly intercourse shall be preserved by the people belonging to both parties. Also that it was agreed and declared that the before-mentioned tribes of bands shall form one community, and that they shall have and possess the lands within the following bounds, to-wit: lying west of the San Antonio road and beginning on the west at the point where the said road crosses the river Angelina and running up said river until it reaches the first large creek below the Great Shawnee village emptying into said river from the northeast, thence running with said creek to its main source, and from thence a due northeast course to the Sabine river, and with said river east. Then starting where the San Antonio road crosses the Angelina river, and with said road to a point where it crosses the Neches river and then running up said river in a northwesterly direction. Generally speaking, this territory granted the Indians in this treaty comprised the whole area of what is now Smith and Cherokee counties,

also the western portion of Rusk and Gregg counties and the northeastern portion of Van Zandt county, Texas.

In this treaty Article VI provides: "It is declared no individual person or member of the tribes before named shall have the power to sell or lease said lands to any person or persons not a member or members of this community of Indians, nor shall any citizen of Texas be allowed to lease or buy land or lands from any Indian or Indians." In part Article VII stipulates: "That the Indians shall be governed by their own regulations and laws within their own territory not contrary to the laws of Texas."

The powers conferred upon General Sam Houston and Col. John Forbes in making this treaty with the Cherokees and their associates may be indicated in the following letter from Hon. Henry Smith, first temporary governor of Texas, in part as follows:

"San Felipe, December 18, 1835.

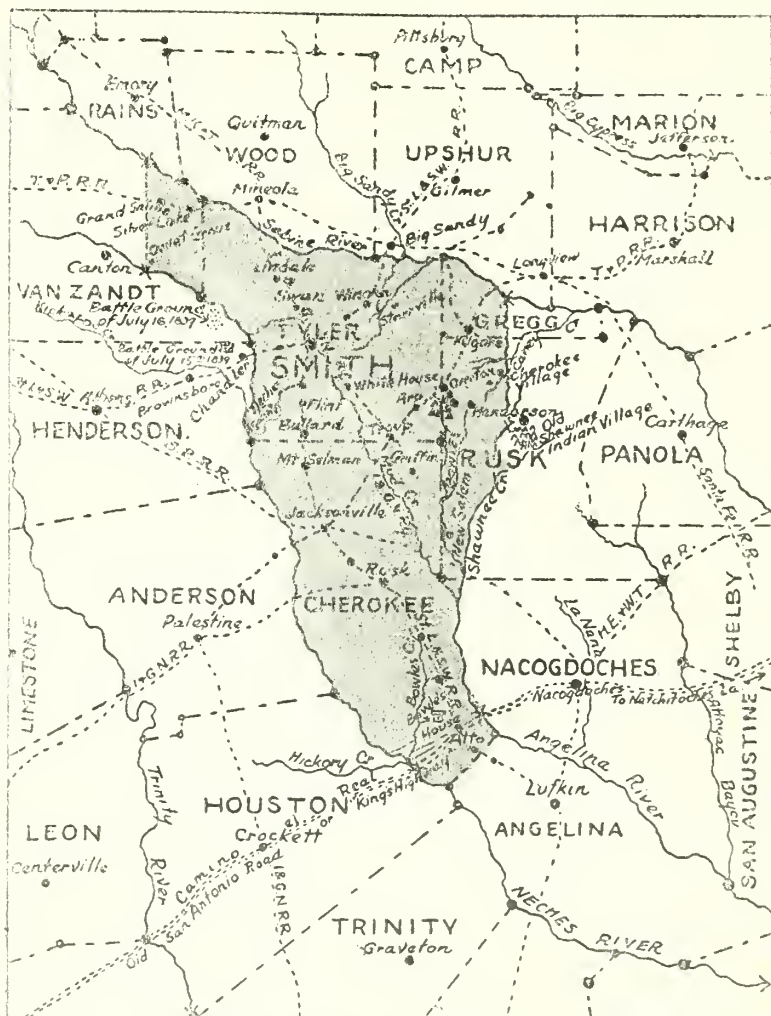
"Gentlemen of the Council:

"I further suggest to you the propriety of appointing commissioners on the part of this government to carry into effect the Indian treaty as contemplated by the convention. I would therefore suggest the propriety of appointing General Houston of the army, and Col. John Forbest of Nacogdoches, who has been already commissioned as one of my aides. These commissioners would go specially instructed, so that no wrong could be committed either to the government, the Indians or our individual citizens. These agents going under proper instructions would be enabled to do right, but not permitted to do wrong, as their negotiations would be subject to investigation and ratification by the government before they would become a law. I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant,

"HENRY SMITH, Governor."

This territory of about fifty miles long and about thirty miles wide, set aside by this treaty, was to be the circumscribed hunting grounds and home in Texas of that principal

and formidable band of Indians who had turned their faces towards the Southwest. Here in this narrow confine of a few miles, under the shadow of the hickory, oak and pine, they might



Home of the Cherokees in Texas - 1836.

Treaty at Bowles' Village on Feb 23^d 1836

Compiled by Will A. Woldert, Sr
Tyler, Tex., 1923.

erect their wigwams and crude log huts and dream if they would of the lands left behind, of the mountains they had often climbed in search of the bear, the turkey, and the deer, of the rivers

flowing swiftly over the gray flinty rocks at the foot of the Ozarks and Alleghanies; and, if they had possessed the advantages of a more enlightened race, they might have called to their minds the days that had long gone before when their proud but savage ancestry had wandered at will over a large portion of the American continent, governed not by the pale face, but by their own peculiar customs and nature's laws.

Whether or not it was at this conference (February 23, 1836) at a later date General Sam Houston, probably as a testimonial of his good will, presented to Chief Bowles a military hat, a silk vest, a handsome sash, and handsome sword. At the time this treaty was made and signed by the contracting parties (February 23, 1836) representing Texas, and the Cherokees, Texas was still a provisional government only, but assuming sovereign rights.

Two months after this treaty was made with the Indians, the battle of San Jacinto was fought (April 21, 1836), Texas won its independence from Mexico and proclaimed itself a republic. On the first Monday in September, 1836, General Sam Houston was elected president of the Texas republic, receiving a total of 5,119 votes out of a total of 6,640 votes cast. The policy of President Houston towards the Cherokees was friendly, fair, and generous.

In the year 1837 this treaty (of February 23, 1836), made in good faith by Houston and Forbes with the Indians, came before the senate of the republic of Texas, which rejected it. Therefore, according to King:⁵ "In 1838 President Lamar directed attention of congress to this act of the senate and to the further fact that Mexico had never, under any form of government, either conveyed or promised to convey as allodial property any portion of the Texas territory then, or at any time occupied or claimed by the Cherokees." The Indians, therefore, though having the protection of the treaty, were still without title to the lands on which they lived.

Some Customs and Mode of Life of the Cherokees of East Texas

History does not seem to give an account of the proportion of Cherokees in Texas who lived in houses such as crude log

⁵ King. *Ibid* No. IV.

huts and those who lived in tents. On account of them living to a large extent the life of hunters, and like Indians of other tribes many of them doubtless lived in tents composed of three poles tied together at the top, and covered with hides of various animals such as buffalo, bear, and deer, and so arranged that these wigwams could be taken down, and ready to be moved within ten minutes time, according to Mr. T. H. Singletary.

Mr. Bum L. Walker, an aged and estimable citizen of Tyler, informed the author that the Indians of east Texas planted and cultivated only a few acres or "patches" (of usually five or six acres) in corn which they cultivated in crude hills made with a hoe. After gathering the corn they prepared it for food by mixing it with lye to make what they called "soffica." This they would eat either hot or cold, by means of a spoon made from the horn of a cow, and eating it three times a day. The Indians seldom used salt with their food. Meats, such as buffalo, they would cut into long strips an inch or two wide and about half an inch thick, and hang it up to dry. After drying this meat would be eaten without cooking it.

While the Indians seldom used salt in their food, some of them must have regarded it as having considerable value, since Chief Bowles for a time made his headquarters near the Neches (or Hotchkiss, but now called Brook's) saline, in Smith county, apparently about the years 1837 or 1838. Their pottery (often decorated) was made of the clay obtained from the banks of creeks near their villages, which clay being baked turned it into various shades of brown or red, depending upon the percentage of iron contained in the clay. The author has found numerous specimens of this Indian pottery about one-third mile west of the Neches saline (Brook's saline) prairie; also about one mile east; and about two miles southeast of the same; also near what was once probably a Delaware Indian village about three or four miles northwest of Chandler, Henderson County, Texas.

According to Mr. Ludwig Anderson, an esteemed citizen of Cherokee County, the Indians who had formerly lived near what is now his residence, about three or four miles southeast of the Neches saline, were friendly with the whites and would not tell a lie. If they borrowed a gun to go hunting, they would take good care of it and would always return it in good order. They

would not wantonly kill and destroy game, and would never kill more game than was actually necessary to supply their immediate needs. Mr. J. E. Arnold stated that it was the custom of the Indians to locate their grave yards about two arrow shots down stream from their villages.

Methods of Electing Their Chiefs

For the purpose of holding elections, and previous to the year 1831, Starr ⁶ says that "All of the voters were notified to meet at a certain place. A couple or more of their leading men would each announce in a tone that could be easily heard the name of the favorite candidate. Each nominator then stepped off a few steps from the crowd and called for those who preferred this candidate to join him. The nominators then proceeded to an audible count of their partisans. The candidates were then brought back and the election proclaimed." After 1821 the elections (in what is now Arkansas) were held on the second Monday in July. The First and Second Chiefs were to receive a salary of one hundred dollars each and the Third Chief was to have an annual salary of sixty dollars. Their tenure of office was to be for four years. The western Cherokees were in constant war with the Osages until 1821 or 1822, and for that reason it was necessary to elect three chiefs so as to preserve their executive line of succession even though the First and Second Chiefs might die or be killed."

Bowles, Chief of The Cherokees; His Place of Abode

The following sketch of the life of Chief Bowles has been largely obtained from data furnished by Doctor Emmet Starr,⁷ and also from the writings of Hon. John H. Reagan,⁸ Yoakum, and others. To a large extent these writers will be quoted in many instances verbatim.

Colonel Bowles, Chief Bowles (or "Bowl", a translation of his native name Diwa-li) was the halfbreed son of a Scotch-Irish trader by the name of Bowles (who lived among the Cherokees) and of a Cherokee mother. He was born in the year 1756, but it is not known definitely in what section of the country

⁶ Starr; *Ibid* No. I.

⁷ Starr; *Ibid* No. I.

⁸ Reagan; *Memoirs*, by John H. Reagan.

inhabited by the Cherokees. However, from the fact that a certain incident occurred, it is possible that he was born in the state of North Carolina. Starr says that when Bowles was a small child his father was killed by some men from one of the North Carolina settlements. When he was thirteen or fourteen years of age he killed the two men who had killed his father, and though he had evened the score always hated North Carolina people as long as he lived.

In personal appearance Starr describes him as being decidedly Gaelic in appearance, having light eyes, red hair, and somewhat freckled. Reagan⁹ speaks of him as being a magnificent specimen of manhood. And though being somewhat tanned in color he did not seem to be an Indian. He had neither the hair nor the eyes of an Indian. His eyes were gray, his hair was a dirty sandy color, and his was an english head. In spite of his age (eighty -three years—W) he seemed to be strong and vigorous.

In 1839 when eighty-three years of age, he had three wives (Reagan). He is known to have had two children, one a son known as Standing Bowles. Whether in Texas this son was afterwards known as John Bowles the author does not know. Reagan speaks of Chief Bowles having a son by the name of John Bowl (see below). Rebecca Bowles was the daughter of Chief Bowles, and who married Tessey Guess, a son of Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet.

Starr¹⁰ says: "The First Chief of the Western Cherokees were consecutively: Bowl, 1795-1713; Takatoka, 1813-1818; Tah-lonteeskee, John Jolly, John Brown and John Rogers. History seems to first mention the name of Bowles in 1794, at which time he had attained the position of Chief of the Running Water Town on the Tennessee river at Mussel Shoals, probably near the present town of Florence, Alabama.

Haywood¹¹ quoting from Washburn says: "That after this bloody tragedy which is known as the Mussel Shoals massacre, the whole party of Cherokees went aboard the boats, descended the Tennessee, Ohio and Mississippi to the mouth of the St.

⁹ Reagan; *Ibid* No. VIII.

¹⁰ Starr; *Ibid* No. I.

¹¹ Haywood; *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*.

Francis river. There they placed all the white women and children in one boat, relinquished to them all the furniture which they claimed, granted to each one of the married ladies a female servant, put on board an ample stock of provisions and four strong and able black men and let them descend the Mississippi to New Orleans, the place of their destination. After the departure of the boat for New Orleans, Bowl and his party ran the other boats with their contents of goods, servants, etc., a few miles up the St. Francis river to await the issue of the affair. As soon as the massacre of Mussel Shoals was known to the Cherokees in their towns they convened a general council and in a memorial to the United States Government declared that they had no part in the tragedy. When this matter was investigated by the Government of the United States the Cherokees were fully justified and the property confiscated and declared by treaty to belong justly to the perpetrators of the Mussel Shoals Massacre."

After the removal of Bowles to the St. Francis country (1794—W) Starr¹² states that his settlement was situated in the Valley of the St. Francis in southeastern Missouri, where finding game abundant he remained until December, 1811, at which time a great seismic disturbance occurred in the St. Francis country in the immediate vicinity in which the Cherokees were located, causing much of this territory to be submerged and many of the Cherokees fearing that the community was under the ban of the Great Spirit, moved westward and settled in the valley of the Petit Jean creek in Arkansas. Thoburn gives the location of the Bowles settlement at this time as being in the Petit Jean country not far from the mouth of that stream, four miles east of the creek and four miles from the Arkansas river, in Conway county, ten miles north and west of Perryville. According to Starr, in 1812, by an arrangement of the government, these Cherokees removed from the St. Francis, and settled between the Arkansas and White rivers.

In 1813 a considerable accession was made to their number by voluntary emigration from the old Nation that they became so numerous that the whole tribe were united and they became known as the "Cherokee Nation West." Starr¹³ further says:

¹² Starr, *Ibid* No. I.

¹³ Starr; *Ibid* No. I.

"The boundary lines of the Cherokee Nation West were run in the spring of 1819 by William Rector, Surveyor General of Arkansas, and were accepted as correct. Bowles village was between Shoal and Petit Jean creeks on the south side of Arkansas river and consequently not within the territory added to the Cherokees by the treaty of 1817. On account of this fact and also to gratify a general wish of his townsmen to locate within Spanish territory, Bowl, with sixty of his men and their families, emigrated in the winter of 1819-20 to territory promised them by the Spanish authorities on the Sabine and Neches rivers in the Mexican province of Texas."

Bowles' statement (in 1839) made to Martin Lacy, Esq., Hon. John H. Reagan and others in Texas was that previous to coming to Texas he had lived at Lost Prairie, Arkansas, which was situated in Miller County, on the west bank of Red River about twenty miles east of the present city of Texarkana and about ten miles south of the Missouri Pacific railroad. From this statement it is evident he had lived for only a short time at Lost Prairie.

Bowles and his followers, having arrived in Texas (in the winter of 1819-20), soon began to lay plans for the acquisition of land in their new home (possibly the Three Forks of the Trinity, now Dallas) and in order to do so appealed direct to the Mexican authorities. Wankler¹⁴ says: "On November 8th, 1822, the principal Cherokee chief, Richard Fields, Bowles and five others composed a delegation appointed by the governor of Texas, Don Jose Felix Trespalacios, to proceed to the commandant general of the Eastern Province and later to go to the city of Mexico if necessary to ask permission for their tribe to settle on lands in Texas. This delegation arrived in the city of Mexico early in the year 1823. After their return home to Texas, a dispute arose between the Indians and the Mexicans as to the claims of Fields mentioned in the grants regarding lands in east Texas, which almost ended in a clash of arms between them. In this application to the Mexican Government, in 1822, made by Richard Fields, he stated that: "The Cherokee Nation numbered 15,000 souls, but there are within the borders of Texas only one hundred warriors and two hundred women and children. They work for their living and dress in

¹⁴ Winkler; Texas Historical Association Quarterly, October, 1903.

cotton cloth which they themselves manufacture. They raise cattle and horses and use firearms. Many of them speak the English language." (Bexar Archives).

According to the statement made by Bowles (Reagan's Memoirs, page 30), he had lived for about three years at the Three Forks of the Trinity (now Dallas—W), and had then moved down near the Spanish fort of Nacogdoches (1822 or 1823—W).

Winkler¹⁵ states that: "Certain documents showed that, in the year 1825, the Cherokee chief, Richard Fields, though acknowledging the sovereignty of Mexico, sold lands to whom he pleased and considered himself master of the section in which he lived, namely, north of the San Antonio road, and between the Trinity and Sabine rivers. Fields claimed that the land, enough for his own and tribe's needs had been granted them by Mexico. Lucas Alaman, Minister of Relations of Mexico, denied that such grant had been made to Fields."

"Starr cities that during the Fredonian Rebellion (1826-1827) "Bowl, who had become a Mexican sympathizer, had Hunter and Fields killed (1827) while they were in the Cherokee settlement attempting to raise further reinforcements." Bowl secured the papers of Fields and turned over at least a portion of them to the Mexican authorities. Mr. J. E. Bean, of Kilgore, informed the writer that Richard ("Dick") Fields was killed in Rusk County about 100 or 200 yards north of Towisky Creek and about three-fourths of a mile northwest of the present town of Pirtle and about 75 yards west of the present Kilgore-Henderson Highway. With regard to those supposed to have been instrumental in bringing about the death of Fields and Hunter, a letter from Ahumada to his superior in command, Bustamente, of March 11th, 1827, speaks in part as follows: "Justice obliges me to inform you that Mohs (Big Mush—W) and Buls (Bowles—W) civil and military chiefs of the Cherokees—agreed and gave orders to kill Hunter and Fields, recovering the papers and flag mentioned and giving me every proof of loyalty to and love for our government from which they hope for a grant of some land 'in which they loved.'"

But, instead of grants of land being given the Cherokees for

¹⁵ Winkler; *Ibid* No. XIV.

the part played by Bowles and Big Mush, Lieutenant Flores, on July 13th, 1827, was commissioned to visit Bowles and confer upon him the title of Lieutenant Colonel from the General Government of Mexico—a title with which he seemed well pleased. Soon after the death of Fields and Hunter, Bowles and Big Mush began to exercise authority over the Cherokees of east Texas, Bowles acting as principal or military chief; while Big Mush was civil chief.

On July 20th, 1833 "Colonel" Bowles, John Bowles and others signed a petition addressed to the Secretary of State of Coahuila and Texas asking to be put in possession of lands in the Cherokee country and stated that: "The tribe at present numbers about 150 families, the total number of persons being about 800. The property of the Cherokees, consisting of about 3,000 head of cattle; about the same number of hogs and 500 or 600 horses. The subscribers inform you that the said tribe lives chiefly by tilling the soil and raising cattle."

In the summer of 1833, Bowles, Vann, and Harlin were given a pass permitting them to visit the capital at San Antonio to again ask to be put in possession of the lands in the Cherokee country, the territory being asked for lying between the Sabine and Trinity rivers. Their request was never granted.

Bowles Village of February 23d, 1836

I have made a prolonged search through varied histories and libraries of Texas, and have had interviews with numerous descendants of those whose relatives resided in east Texas in the early days in order to determine the precise locality with reference to present day maps of the "Village of Colonel Bowles" of February 23d, 1836, mentioned in the Houston-Forbes-Bowles treaty. In addition I have consulted numerous maps of Texas, including the years 1834, and 1835, but found that there was no place designated as Bowles' village on these maps. But on these maps of 1834 and 1835 I found Cherokee Village, and, during the month of August, 1923, was shown the place where this Cherokee village was said to have stood, my informants being Dr. W. P. White, and Mr. Tom D. Pitner of Henderson, Texas, each of whom had resided in the locality, or within a few miles of it for over fifty years, and had been over the ground many times. This Cherokee village was said to have been situated in the Wil-

liam Ravy survey, Rusk County, on Caney creek, the Indian grave-yard being on the north side and a peach orchard once being situated on the south side of the old bed of Caney Creek, about three-fourths of a mile west of the confluence of Towisky Creek and Caney Creek, and near the southwest corner of the Will Steber, and northwest corner of the Luther Warren surveys; about one-fourth mile southeast of an unusually bold spring coming up from what was at my visit a dry ravine above the spring; and being situated about nine miles north of Henderson, three miles south of Pirtle, nine miles southeast of Kilgore, and about forty-nine miles north of Nacogdoches. Whether this Cherokee Village, and the "Village of Colonel Bowl" were one and the same place, and the terms used interchangeably, the writer does not know.

It is evident that both Bowles and Big Mush, as late as September, 1835, received their communications to them addressed to Cherokee Village, as shown by the following: Lamar papers (Vol. I, page 258) date of September 19th, 1835, states that Big Mush and Bowles made talks to the Cherokees at Cherokee village (?) upon keeping peace with the Anglo-Americans. Lamar Papers (Vol. I, page 239) date of September 24th, 1835, states that General Sam Houston, and General Thomas J. Rusk wrote a letter to Bowles and Big Mush acknowledging receipts of their talks (by Bowles and Big Mush), and addressed this letter to Bowles and Big Mush, Cherokee Village (Texas—W).

Sometime between the month of September, 1835, and February, 1836, Bowles apparently changed his place of abode, for on February 5th, 1836, General Sam Houston wrote a letter to Colonel Bowl and addressed it Cherokee Nation. (Texas, Woldert. See Lamar Papers, Vol. I, page 317). Lamar Papers (Vol. I, page 352) states that General Sam Houston under date of April 13th, 1836, wrote a letter to Colonel Bowl addressing it "Great Chief of The Cherokees," but no town or village was designated where the letter was to be received. With reference to the place where the Houston-Forbes-Bowles treaty was signed, in the Texas Almanac for 1860, page 45, we find a statement attributed to President Burnet, and reading as follows: "Two of the plenipotentiaries, Houston and Forbes, departe, and Bowl, Big Mush, and The Egg, Cherokee head men at the vil-

on the 23rd of February, 1836, entered into a treaty with the Ilege of the Bowl, a few miles north of Nacogdoches."

As to where Bowles had a village or camp in February, 1836, I wish to state that in August, 1923, Mr. John Henson, who had resided in Rusk County and in the immediate locality, seven miles west of Henderson, since 1856, informed me that Chief Bowles at one time had a camp on the east side of Bowles Creek in the Pru league and on the old Blackwell place. This information had been furnished Mr. Henson by Mr. Will Brumbly, Mr. Peter Tipps, and Mr. Will Davis, all of whom had been in the fight to expel the Cherokees from east Texas.

Mr. Albert Blackwell, a descendant of Jasper Blackwell, in August, 1923, accompanied us over this site where Bowles was said to have had his camp, and we found evidences of an Indian village there, as shown by pieces of broken pottery and a flint Indian arrow head. Two of these places pointed out to us by Mr. Blackwell were situated on the east side of Bowles' Creek, in the Pru league, Rusk County, on the Blackwell farm, one being situated on what is now a slight knoll covered with pine trees, about 100 yards east of Bowles' Creek, and about 150 yards southeast of a spring in a ravine, near the eastern edge of Bowles' Creek. Mr. Blackwell stated that he had picked up a great many Indian arrow heads on this knoll, and that it appeared to be a place where arrow heads might have been made. About one-fourth mile further up the creek on the east side, we found pieces of broken pottery, and a fine Indian arrow head; while a third place was pointed out to us by Mr. Blackwell as being situated about seventy-five yards west of the creek, and about one-third mile northwest of the first camp. The site of the village or camp as pointed out to us is situated about half a mile north of the present Tyler and Henderson highway, about six and one-quarter miles east of Arp, about ten to fifteen miles west of the former Cherokee village, about twenty-five miles northeast of Tyler, and about forty-five miles slightly northwest of Nacogdoches. Mr. Henson stated that the older citizens in passing along the road by the Blackwell old place as described above would point out the Bowles' camp on the east side of the creek, and stated that near the west bank of Bowles' Creek, just south of what is now the Tyler-Henderson road, there was once a peach orchard believed to have been planted

by the Indians, and not far distant below the camp or village. Further down Bowles' Creek about two miles distant and on the west side of the creek, and about 200 or 300 yards west of Bowles' Creek, Mr. Henderson spoke of an old rock furnace in which he believed some kind of metal had been melted. This spot was called the "stone ruin."

In this regard, Mr. Joe White, in July, 1923, informed the writer that, in the year 1835, his grandfather, Mr. Jesse Chambers, and Mr. Robert Smith were on their way to Texas when they met Chief Bowles in Shreveport, where Bowles was selling lead, and had with him a pack train of mules and horses. Chambers and Smith came on to Texas with Bowles, passing westward through the Indian village at Henderson, and further west along an old Indian trail. Chambers, Smith and Bowles camped about three or four miles east of Omen, near Bowles' Creek, and while camping there they looked at some land, and Bowles pointed out a fine building site for a home for Chambers. Chambers and Smith went on to Nacogdoches.

In July, 1923, Mr. J. E. Bean, of Kilgore, an elderly writer and well acquainted with the older residents of Rusk County, and who had resided in Rusk County many years, informed the writer that Mr. George Star told him that Chief Bowles lived on Bowles' Creek about five miles south of what is now Overton. This locality would approximately be the same as pointed out to me by Mr. Henson and Mr. Blackwell. From the fact that Rabbit, Bighead, Towiski, Gibson, Shawnee, Big Mush, Johnson and Anadarko villages have given their names to the creeks near or on which they were located would indicate that Bowles had his village on the creek that bears his name.

In Rusk County, Chief Towiski was said to have lived about 200 to 300 yards north of what is now Pirtle, or about 400 yards north of Towiski Creek; Chief Johnson lived about 400 yards east of Johnson Creek, about 150 yards north of the present Henderson and Tyler highway. In Smith County, Chief Harris is said to have lived about 200 yards east of Harris Creek and about 800 yards southeast of what is now Winona; while Chief Simpson lived about 200 yards north of Simpson Creek and about seventy-five yards north of the present Dixie highway, on top of the hill about a mile east of Winona.

Yoakum¹⁶ states that, about the year 1838, Bowles was making his headquarters on the "Neches saline" (now called Brooks' saline) in the extreme southwestern portion of Smith County, and about eighteen miles southwest of Tyler, Texas. With reference to this latter location, and in regard to the expedition of Rusk (August, 1836) against the Indians and Mexicans who had stolen some horses and committed murders near Nacogdoches, Yoakum¹⁷ says: "Having done this the malcontents set out on their march for the Cherokee Nation. Major Austin was detached with 150 men to follow the Mexican trail; while the main body of Texans, under General Rusk, marched toward the headquarters of Bowles, the Cherokee chief, whither he understood the enemy had gone. On reaching the saline he discovered that the insurgent leaders had fled to the upper Trinity and their followers dispersed."

The headquarters of Bowles from October, 1838, to later months in that year was evidently in the vicinity of the Neches saline, for Yoakum¹⁸ with reference to the killing of the Kilgoughs, Wood, and Williams families (October 5th, 1838), says: "To prevent such occurrences Major Walters had been ordered with two companies to occupy the Neches saline, not only to watch the Cherokees but to cut off their intercourse with the Indians of the prairies. Bowles, the Cherokee chief, notified Major Walters that he would repel by force such occupation of the saline."

According to a communication received by the writer in August, 1923, from Mr. J. E. Arnold of Henderson, Texas, Mr. A. K. Vansickle being a witness in a case in the District Court of Henderson County, Texas (W. D. Irwin vs. Flora Hamlet et al), Vansickle claimed to have known Chief Bowles personally and is credited with the statement that Bowles lived as a friendly neighbor near the Irwins and Vansickles, who lived in the Debard league near the Neches saline (now called Brook's saline—W) in the southwestern part of Smith County. (Note—this date may have been the year 1836—W).

In June, 1839, when the Indian agent of Texas, Mr. Martin

16 Yoakum; *History of Texas*, Vol. II.

17 Yoakum; *Ibid* No. XVI.

18 Yoakum; *Ibid* No. XVI.

19 Yoakum. *Ibid* No. XVI.

Lacy, accompanied by the Hon. John H. Reagan, Dr. Jowers and one Cordra, carried the message of President Lamar to him. Bowles was then living about three miles north of Martin Lacy's house, (Reagan) and four miles northwest of what is now Alto, Cherokee County, Texas. In order to determine the exact location of Mr. Martin Lacy's house in June, 1839, the author on September 20th, 1920, visited the place where Mr. Lacy lived and the spot where the Lacy house formerly stood was pointed out by Mr. T. H. Singletary, of Rusk, Texas, an esteemed citizen who had resided in Cherokee County since 1848, who had formerly lived within a few miles of Mr. Martin Lacy's residence, and who had frequently visited the home of Lacy before its disappearance. Some of the rocks evidently used as the foundation for the Lacy home are still there. The site of this home is on a perpendicular bluff some twenty-five feet in height, on the north bank of what is now called Harrison Branch, in the Martin Lacy Survey, two miles north of what was formerly Ft. Lacy, three miles west of Alto, and about ten miles east of the Neches River.

The Home of Bowles, in June, 1839

Mr. T. H. Singletary, of Rusk, stated that during the years 1851 and 1852, he had attended school about 400 yards from where Chief Bowles formerly had his home (or hut—W), in June, 1839, when Bowles received the communication from President Lamar through the Indian agent, Mr. Martin Lacy. From 1847 to 1865, Mr. Singletary had resided about one and a half miles southwest from where Bowles was living when called upon by Mr. Lacy and others, and stated that Bowles at that time lived in Cherokee County, Texas, in the Tillman Walters survey, about three miles due north of Mr. Martin Lacy's house; and about four miles northwest of what is now Alto; about five miles north of the old San Antonio road, and about ten miles east of the Neches River. More accurately located, the spot where Bowles lived at that time, according to Mr. Singletary, was about 250 yards west of Redlawn, about forty feet south of Isom Collier's Branch, and about 200 yards west of what is now the St. Louis Southwestern Railway.

This location differs slightly from the description given by Hon. John H. Reagan. The spring known as Bowles' Spring (which in September, 1920, was quite dry) according to Mr.

Singletary was situated down in the bed of Isom Collier's Branch, and about 150 feet northwest from the residence of Bowles. While Mr. Singletary was quite positive as to the precise place where Chief Bowles lived, in June, 1839, and where the spring mentioned by Reagan was situated and described above, I have since my first visit to the locality learned that Mr. Singletary made a very slight error in locating precisely the spot where Bowles evidently lived, in June, 1839; and also regarding the exact locality of Bowles' Spring.

More correctly the spot where Bowles lived, in June, 1839, is evidently situated on the tract of land owned in 1923 by Mr. Lude Hamilton, about 500 yards due northwest of the small town of Redlawn, Cherokee County, Texas, in the Tillman Walters survey, and about four miles northwest of the present city of Alto. This would be about 150 yards further northwest from where Mr. Singletary located the place where Bowles lived.

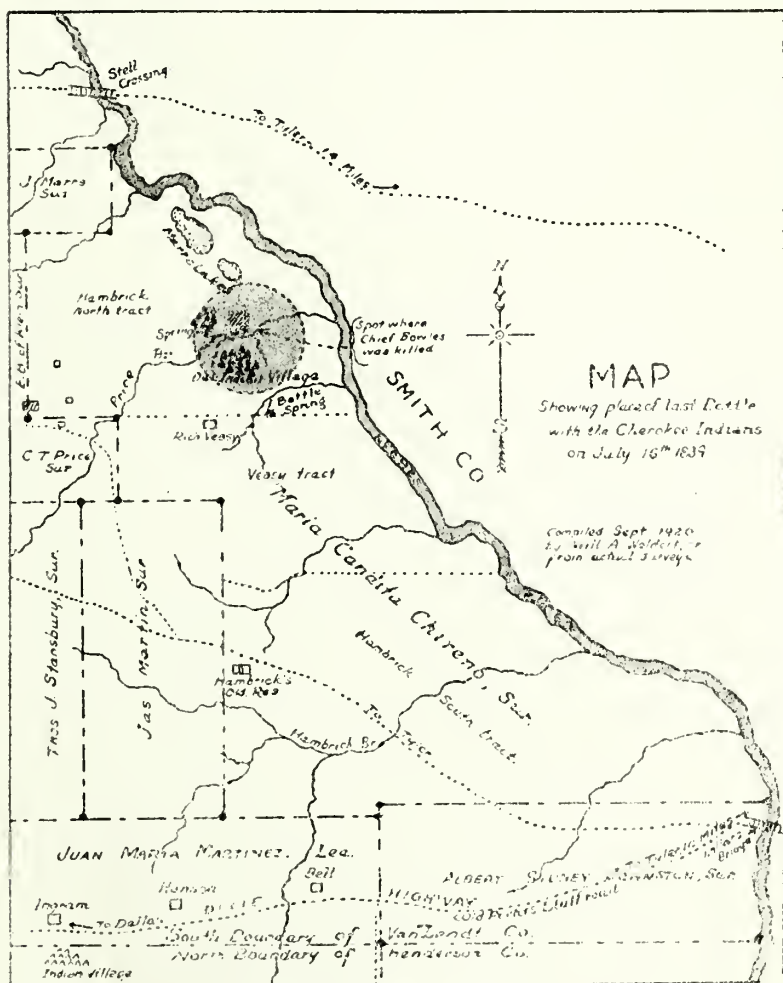
Bowles' Spring ("fine spring") as described by Reagan is evidently situated on the Tillman Walters survey about 650 yards due northwest from the town of Redlawn, Cherokee County, Texas, or about 250 yards further northwest than Mr. Singletary located it. This Bowles' Spring is further situated about 400 yards due southwest of the home of Mr. Lude Hamilton, in 1923, about 150 yards east of Bowles' Creek, and on the tract of land owned, in 1923, by Mr. J. J. Tullis, near his east line, and about seventy-five yards south of a ledge of very large rocks covering the curve of a rather large, steep hill or cliff.

In April, 1923, when I visited this spring, though much neglected, it was some six feet in diameter, and about a foot deep. It is a rather bold spring, partly covered with moss, and situated on the western slope of a small red-colored hill, the hill extending from north to south and sloping westward towards Bowles' Creek. It is believed that Bowles had his house or hut about 100 or 150 yards southeast of this spring, on top of the hill.

A pin oak tree, some two feet in diameter stood off toward the south of this spring, and a double trunk willow tree in a marsh stood off toward the north of the spring some seventy-five feet distant, the spring being situated in a pasture on

marshy land and immediately surrounded by small ironwood and pinoak bushes some ten or twelve feet high.

Mr. J. J. Tullis had lived on this tract of land for upwards of forty-two years and Mr. Lude Hamilton had lived in the immediate vicinity for upwards of thirty-eight years, and they pointed out to me the Bowles' spring, in April, 1923.



Chief Big Mush

The Cherokee chief who exercised authority in civil matters during the days of Bowles was Gatun-wa'-li (bread made into

little balls or lumps), or Big Mush. History makes only brief mention of this Cherokee chief. His home was said to have been situated, at one time in the northwestern part of Rusk County and perhaps later a few miles south of Rusk, Texas. From the fact that he was closely associated with Chief Bowles in the year 1827, and became the chief in civil matters, he must have had considerable influence with the Cherokees. It is known that he was one of the signers of the treaty made with General Sam Houston, John Forbes, Bowl and associates, dated at the village of Colonel Bowl, on February 23d, 1836. Powell states that Big Mush was killed in the last battle with the Cherokees, on July 16th, 1839, and on the same day Bowles was killed.

Some Historic Events Occurring Previous to the Expulsion of the Cherokees from Texas

In 1826 many of the white colonists who had settled in Texas under the grant issued Hayden Edwards who, taking advantage of the temporary hostile attitude of the Indians in not securing titles to the lands on which they lived, formed a mutual league with the Cherokees to act in concert with them in starting a revolt against the Mexican government, with a view of obtaining their independence. John Dunn Hunter and Richard Fields represented the Indians in this union effected with the whites at a general council lasting three days, those taking part in this league being subsequently known as the "Fredonians." But this "Fredonian" enterprise owing to the adroitness of Pedro Elias Bean (Ellis P. Bean), the loyal Indian agent of the Mexican government at that time (1826-1827), was of short duration. The Fredonians were soon conquered and disbanded.

In regard to this affair, Yoakum says: "The Fredonians thereupon sent an express to Aes Bayou for assistance, but Bean had dispatched an emissary (December 26th, 1826) in advance to these people promising them pardon and lands. They also sent an express to the Indians but Bean likewise anticipated them here, and had promised the Cherokees and their associates that they should have the lands they applied for. Colonel Bean through the instrumentality of John Williams, Elliott and others succeeded in detaching the Indians from the whites. These agents for their services received each a league of land. Richard Fields and John Dunn Hunter remained friendly to the whites

through promises of land to be granted by Mexico, succeeded and faithful to their agreement, while it appears that Bean, in detaching from this union two principal chiefs, namely Bowles and Big Mush. Shortly after the Fredonian rebellion (1826-27) both Hunter and Felds were assassinated, and Bowles became principal chief of the Cherokees (1827)."

In 1831 General Teran executed an order addressed to the proper Mexican authorities which in part read: "I pray your Excellency may be pleased to order that possession be given them (Cherokees—W) with the corresponding titles." But this order was never executed and instead of receiving titles from Mexico to the lands on which these Indians lived, they were as usual again rewarded with only glittering hopes and gilded promises.

In 1836, and apparently only a few days previous to the battle of San Jacinto, a committee representing the citizens of Nacogdoches was sent into the Cherokee country to ascertain the feeling of the Indians, and Yoakum states that "Bowles, principal chief, advised the agent to leave the country as there was danger. As to the suspicion that he (Bowles) might lend his assistance to the Mexicans, he became indignant at the suspicion of his good faith and pacific intentions and sent in his denial." Subsequent history proved that none of the Cherokees joined the Mexicans to assist Santa Anna just before the battle of San Jacinto.

As to the good faith of the Cherokees towards the whites, and their fidelity to treaties made, General Sam Houston who was then (January 29th, 1855) in the United States Senate said: ²⁰"The Cherokees had ever been friendly, and when Texas was in consternation, and the men and women were fugitives from the myrmidons of Santa Anna, who were sweeping over Texas like a simoon, they had aided our people, and given them succor—and this was the recompense. They were driven from their homes and were left desolate."

The Killough, Wood, and Williams Massacre

In October, 1920, the author through the courtesy of Mrs. W. F. Partlow of Mt. Selman, Texas, obtained the following

²⁰ Manning; Some History in Van Zandt County.

original account of the Killough, Wood, and Williams massacre, written by Mr. W. B. Killough (son of Mr. Samuel Killough, who was killed, together with several members of his family) and who while an infant was rescued by his mother during the massacre on October 5th, 1838. Mrs. Killough escaped with her infant son into the woods, being finally taken through the woods on foot to Ft. Lacy, near Alto, a distance of some forty miles.

The account of Mr. Killough, describing the massacre, given almost verbatim and without special effort at correction, is as follows: "I was born in Mardisville, Taladoga County, Alabama, September 26th, 1837. Father moved to Texas the same year, stopping where old Larissa now stands, the 24th day of December, 1837, it being some forty miles from any white settlement—Lacy's fort being the nearest. They built houses, cleared land and made a crop. Everything went well until the fall of 1838 when the Indians began to give trouble. The Killoughs and connections left, but on making a treaty with the Indians they returned to gather their crops and stock. They had finished all except about two hours in Uncle Nathaniel Killough's corn, so, as they would not be out long, they concluded they would leave their guns at home. They had been in the habit of taking them, and stacking them in the field. About one o'clock they started for the field. On their way the larger portion had to cross a creek. In passing through the swamp they were attacked by the Indians and all killed except Nathaniel Killough, his wife and child. He was watering his horse. He lived on that side of the creek. On hearing the firing he rode to the house and tried to get his wife and child up on the horse. But they pursued him and he had to leave the horse and take to the cane. He made his way to a friendly Indian, and got another horse and made their escape to the fort. That baby girl which was about one year old is still living. She is the wife of Doctor G. M. Mathis, of Garden Valley, Smith County. Samuel Killough, my father, lived on the northeast side of the creek. When mother Narcissa heard the firing, she taken me up and started to see who was killed. She was joined by Aunt Jane, (wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.) and her brother Williams. He took me to carry, for mother was very weakly, her standing weight being ninety-four pounds. They went but a few steps when they saw the Indians coming. Handing me to mother he said: "Here, take

the baby, I must go." They swept by the man and shot him down a few yards from them. They found father in a small branch beyond the main creek, where he fell. The balance they failed to find except grandfather, Isaac Killough, Sr. He was lying in his yard and grandmother was all alone.

"In this massacre there were eighteen killed and taken off. Wood, a brother-in-law of the Killough's, his wife, five children, a Miss Killough, sister to father, were all taken off and were never heard of. The girls were about seventeen years old. Williams and Miss Killough were to have been married soon. After trying to get grandfather in the house, and failing, he being a very large man, they covered him up with quilts, laying rails on the side to hold them down. They turned their steps to east, returning to father's they found everything torn up and strewn over the yard. After sometime taken up in consultation, there being three women—Mrs. Urcery Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Mrs. Jane Killough, wife of Isaac Killough, Jr.; Narcissa Killough, wife of Samuel Killough (my mother).

"As the Indians sent for them while they were at the house to go to Sam Bengé's, their chief, about two miles north. The first two mentioned were in favor of going—Narcissa told them they could go but she would die first. So one of them Indians sent for them—Dog Shoot by name—told them if he had a gun he would kill them. The male portion being dead they did not bring their guns. Narcissa sent them after their guns, and while they were gone she took her baby boy and started on a long journey of forty miles without anything to eat, among savages, and wild beasts.

"They hid in the grass near where Larissa now stands until night came. They could hear the Indians yelling and see the smoke from the house, which on returning, not finding the women, they set on fire. When night came they started for Ft. Lacy, travelling as best they could, as they had to leave the path often as Indians were coming up all through the night. There was one serious draw-back to them—one that might have proven fatal to them at any time. They had an infant one year and eight days old, and a small fist dog along. The cry of one or the bark of the other would have been fatal, but it seems that both knew there was something wrong, for when they would stop the dog would hover under their skirts like he was trying

to keep out of danger. In starting they did not know what to do with the dog. They could not leave it, and didn't have the heart to kill it, nor anything to kill it with.

"The third day in the morning as they had been without anything to eat, they concluded they would travel by day. They had hid in the day-time. They had not gone far on hearing a noise behind them they looked and there stood an Indian with his gun to his shoulder ready to shoot. As some of the women screamed he ran up and showed them there was no powder in the pan—all guns were flint and steel then. The path forked at that place and he wanted them to turn to the left in a dimmer path. They refused to go at first. He could not speak English so he had to use signs.

"As they would not go he got in the trail ahead of them and loaded his gun. They concluded it was death anyway so they started his way. They had not gone far before they came to an Indian hut and about 200 Indians painted. They were killing a beef. They were carried to the hut and put in—the same Indian sitting in the door with his gun. There was a negro woman came in. Mother asked her some questions. She gave no satisfaction. They then gave them something to eat—the first they had in forty-eight hours. They sent off for an interpreter and when he came he told them that they were safe. Had they gone half a mile farther we would have all been killed, as the Indians in the town were on the warpath. That's where the painted warriors were from. He also told them that the whites had a great many friends among them, and they knew there were three women trying to make their escape and they had placed guards all over the country to find them if possible, but, as they had traveled only by night, they did not find them before. They were kept there until the next morning when they were furnished with horses and sent to the fort. The Indian that captured them rolled up in his blanket with his gun laid across the door all night.

"This place is about four miles west of where Rusk now stands. They came very near being shot at the fort as it was night. All excited, they were hailed three times; finally they answered: 'Women from the Saline,' just in time to save themselves. There was an amusing incident happened while we were

in the fort. It was reported the Indians were coming. Mrs. Box got Johnny Box (her husband) down and commenced to beat on him, saying at the top of her voice: 'Pray, Johnny Box, do pray, if you ever did pray, pray now, for the Indians is coming.' We stayed in the fort about a month, then went to old Douglass, then mother and I soon left for Alabama. Will state that there were whites with the Indians in the killing of our family. There was one by the name of H—— from Taladega County, Alabama, that my family knew.

"In about five weeks after the Killoughs were killed, General Houston sent General Rusk up and drove the Indians back, and buried our dead. Uncle Nathaniel Killough was with them. He was wounded in the Kickapoo fight being shot through the shoulder."

The following is a copy of the petition of Nathaniel Killough to the Congress of Texas, December, 1838, asking for relief for his losses:

"To the Honorable House of Representatives and the Senate of This Republic, in Congress assembled: The petition of Nathaniel Killough humbly sheweth unto your honorable body that he is now and has been for some time past, a citizen of Nacogdoches County; that during the past summer petitioner, together with his father, Isaac Killough; his brothers, Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, and Isaac Killough, Jr., and his brothers-in-law, George W. Wood and Owen C. Williams, resided near the Neches river in said county, and we were at that time engaged in the pursuit of agriculture; and that, at their residence, they were on the 5th of October last, attacked by Mexicans and wild Indians, and that Isaac Killough, Sr., Allen Killough, his wife and five children; Isaac Killough, Jr., George W. Wood, his wife and two children; Samuel Killough, a daughter of Owen C. Williams, and Elizabeth Kollough were killed as your petitioner believes. Your petitioner would also show unto your honorable body that at the time his relations were murdered, the Mexicans and Indians took and destroyed all the property of your petitioner and his relatives, and that the property of your petitioner so destroyed consisted of household furniture, farming utensils, and arms of the value of \$2,000; 500 bushels of corn worth \$1,000; a carriage worth \$200; a wagon worth \$250; two horses, one of great value, both worth \$700; a number of

cattle worth \$150; the entire loss of your petitioner being \$4,300; that that Isaac Kollough, Sr., lost property of the same description of the value of \$2,500, and that Allen Killough lost \$3,000 worth of property; Samuel Killough lost property worth \$3,700; Isaac Killough, Jr., lost property worth \$700; George C. Wood had property destroyed worth \$2,400, and that Owen C. Williams lost property worth \$2,300; and the value of the before-mentioned has been entirely lost to your petitioner and to the heirs of his relatives; and that every possible effort has been used by your petitioner to recover the property mentioned, but that your petitioner has been unable to recover any of said property. In consideration of the premises, your petitioner prays that your honorable body will grant to him and Owen C. Williams and the heirs of Isaac Killough, Sr.; Allen Killough, Samuel Killough, Isaac Killough, Jr., and George C. Wood such relief as a sense of justice may dictate; and that your honorable body will duly consider the prayer of your petitioner; and that your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray."

(Signed) NATHANIEL KILLOUGH.

(Nacogdoches, Dec. 26, 1838).

"We the undersigned citizens of Nacogdoches County respectfully represent unto the honorable Congress of this Republic that we have examined the foregoing petition of Nathaniel Killough, and that we are satisfied the statements made in the foregoing petition are true, and we pray that the honorable Congress will grant the prayer of petitioner.

"(Signed) R. H. Pinney, Osc. Engledow, Jas. H. Starr, Wm. Hart, D. Rusk, K. H. Douglas, M. M. Cox, Henry Rogers, Jas. S. Linn, J. Smith, Chas. H. Taylor."

This massacre of the Killough, Wood, and Williams families on October 5th, 1838, occurring about one mile west of the old town of Larissa, Cherokee County, aroused the entire people of the Republic of Texas. General Rusk had shortly after this occurrence been despatched to the neighborhood where the massacre occurred to drive the Indians back and, a short while (probably a few weeks) afterward, Major Walters had been ordered with two companies to occupy the Neches saline, not only to watch the Cherokees, but as stated elsewhere, to cut off the

intercourse with the Indians of the prairies on the west. Bowl, the Cherokee chief, notified Major Walters that he would repel by force such occupation of the Saline. As the major's force was too small to carry out his orders, he established his post on the west bank of the Neches out of the Cherokee territory (Yoakum).²¹

In July, 1838, Vincente Cordova began to sow seeds of discord among the Indians and instigated them to aid the Mexicans in making war on the Texans, and shortly afterward Cordova disclaimed allegiance to Texas. Yoakum²² states that: "Cordova wrote Filisola from the headwaters of the Trinity on the 29th of August and 16th of September, 1838, giving him an account of his progress. In the spring of the following year (1839) Flores, the Indo-Mexican agent at Matamoras, departed for Texas carrying instructions to Cordova from Canalizo (who had succeeded Filisola) and also messages to the chiefs of the Caddoes, Seminoles, Biloxis, Cherokees, Kickapoos, Brazos, Towakonies and perhaps others, accuring these Indians that they need expect nothing from the greedy adventurers for land, who wish even to deprive the Indians of the sun that warms and vivifies them, and who would not cease to injure them while the grass grows, and water runs."

In March, 1839, Colonel Burleson endeavored to capture Cordova on the Guadalupe River, but he escaped and fled to the Rio Grande. According to Brown:²³ "Manuel Flores, the Mexican Indian agent in Matamoras, responsive to Cordova's earnest desire for a personal conference and ignorant of the latter's disastrous defeat, set forth from Matamoras late in April (1839—W) to meet Cordova and the Indian tribes wherever they might be found. He had an escort of about thirty Indians and Mexicans, supplies of ammunition, etc., and all the official papers from Filisola and Canalizo empowering him to treat with the Indians so as to secure their united friendship for Mexico and their combined hostility to Texas. Lieutenant Rice fell upon his trail and assailed him on Brushy, in the edge of what is now Williamson County. Flores endeavored to make a stand but Rice rushed forward with such impetuosity as to throw the

²¹ Yoakum; *Ibid* No. XVI.

²² Yoakum; *Ibid* No. XVI.

²³ Brown; *History of Texas*.

enemy into confusion and flight. Flores and two of his followers were left dead upon the ground, and fully one-half of those who escaped were wounded. Rice captured one hundred horses and mules, three hundred pounds of powder, a large amount of lead, shot, balls, etc., and all the correspondence in possession of Flores. This correspondence revealed in detail the whole plot that had been formed for the destruction of the frontier people of Texas."

In these papers captured from Flores were letters said to have been addressed to Big Mush and Bowles, chiefs of the Cherokees. "It is inferred from these documents found on Flores and addressed to the Cherokee chiefs, that the latter were in correspondence with the Mexican authorities." (Yoakum).²⁴

For the Cherokees a new and very sorrowful day was about to dawn. The bright red hills of east Texas, crowned with hickory, oak and pine, were to be illumined no more by their wigwam fires at night. The land in which they had found a dwelling place for some twenty eventful years, the lands which they longed to hold through sovereign title, and so well adapted to their nomadic life, was to pass from them forever. At a very early day the warriors of the Cherokees with gun and bow and arrow, using them as best they could, were to measure arms with the well equipped soldiers of Texas, under the ever alert and dauntless Rusk, Burleson, Douglass and Landrum. They hoped to remain longer in the land in which they lived, but it was only a forlorn hope.

Henceforth the Cherokees were not to be persuaded, nor humored, nor treated as friends. Orders would soon be issued saying to them, "You must go peaceably if you will, forcibly if you must." For them it would be a surren awakening as from a fitful, feverish dream. There must be no lingering by the way in the land they had inhabited and which doubtless they thought belonged to them because their homes were there. Here they had watched the full moon come and go some two hundred times or more. But the unrelenting hand of fate must guide them toward a new home and like that of the "old man" and

²⁴ Yoakum; *Ibid* No. XVI.

little Nell, this resting place from unceasing wars must be a little further on, "just a little further on."

On December 9th, 1838, Mirabeau B. Lamar was inaugurated President of Texas Republic. The policy of President Lamar seemed unlike that of Ex-President Houston. Houston apparently believed that the white race and the Indians should grow and develop along the lines each desired, and that the Indians should be kept pacified, treated with friendliness and be permitted to work out their own destiny. President Lamar seemed disposed to pay the Indians for their improvements, losses, and their crops, after which they must leave.

Eventful matters in Texas history now occurred in rapid succession, some of which evidently aroused President Lamar to take summary action against the Indians. Among these might be mentioned: first, the capture of the correspondence found on Flores, showing the plot of the Mexicans to induce the Indians to join them in renewed hostility against the Texans; second, the continued Indian depredations and killing of white people in various sections of the State; and, third, the enraged feeling produced on the public mind by such massacres as that of the Killough, Wood, and Williams families.

President Lamar therefore sent a communication to Chief Bowles, then living about four miles northwest of what is now the city of Alto, notifying him of the proposed action to be taken by Lamar against the Indians, this communication being carried to Bowles by Martin Lacy, Esq., the Indian agent for Texas, being accompanied on that occasion during the month of June, 1839, by Dr. J. W. J. Jowers, Hon. John H. Reagan, and one Cordra. As to the contents of this communication from President Lamar to Bowles, Mr. Reagan²⁵ says: "Among the facts so recited, as I remember them, was one in the year 1836, when the people of Texas were retreating from their homes before the advancing army of the Mexican General, Santa Anna, that Chief Bowles assembled his warriors on the San Antonio road east of the Neches River for the purpose of attacking the Texans if they should be defeated by Santa Anna. This communication also called attention to the murders and thefts which had been committed on the people of Texas by the Cherokees;

25 Reagan. *Texas Historical Association Quarterly*, Vol. I.

and, upon these statements, saying to Chief Bowles that Texas could not permit such an enemy to live in the heart of the country, and that he must take his tribe to the nation north of the Red River, peaceably if they would, forcibly if they must. President Lamar in that communication said to Chief Bowles that he had appointed six among the most respectable citizens of the republic and authorized them to value the immovable property of the Cherokees which was understood to be their improvements on the land, but not the land, and to pay them for these in money."

Speaking further with reference to this communication, Reagan says: "Indian Agent Lacy lived on the San Antonio road about six miles east of the Neches River. Chief Bowles lived about three miles north of Mr. Lacy. When he reached the residence of Bowles he invited us to a spring (in Reagan's Memoirs, page 3, he speaks of it being a "fine spring") a few rods from his house, and seated on a log, received the communication of the president. After it was read he remained silent for a time and then made a denial of the charges contained in that communication, and said the wild Indians had done the killing and the stealing and not his people. He then entered into a defense of the title of his tribe to the country which they occupied. He said that after his band had separated from the old Cherokee Nation, they, under him as their chief, settled at Lost Prairie, north of Red River, now in Arkansas, that, after living there for a time they had moved to the Three Forks of the Trinity, now Dallas, and the surrounding countries; that he had intended to hold that country for his tribe but the other Indians disputed his right to do so and claimed it as a common hunting ground; that he remained there with his tribe about three years in a state of continual war with other Indians until about one-third of his warriors had been killed; that he then moved down near the Spanish fort of Nacogdoches (I use his expression) and the local authorities permitted him to occupy the country which his tribe then occupied; that he went to the City of Mexico and got the authority of the Mexican Government to occupy that country, and that, during the Revolution of 1835-36, the Consultation representing Texas recognized his right to that country by a treaty. It is proper here to state that the Consultation (note—appointed by the General Council and commissioned by the Governor—writer) did appoint General Houston

and Colonel Forber and authorized them to make a treaty with the Cherokees. I am not informed as to the extent of the powers conferred on them for that purpose. A treaty was agreed to between them and the Cherokees and reported to the Consultation, which adjourned without ratifying the treaty so made, and with its powers was superseded by the convention which formed the Consultation of the republic, and that convention also rejected the treaty which had been agreed to by General Houston and Colonel Forbes. This is the treaty to which Bowles referred. So that the Cherokees had no higher title to the country they then occupied than the privilege of occupancy during the pleasure of the sovereign of the soil.

At this conference with Chief Bowles, he stated that he could not make answer to the communication of the President without consulting his chiefs and head men and requested time to convene his council. Thereupon it was agreed between them to have another meeting a week or ten days later (I do not remember the exact length of time) to give time for the council of the Cherokees to meet and act. On the day appointed, Agent Lacy returned to the residence of Chief Bowles, accompanied by Cordra, the interpreter, and by Dr. Jowers and myself. We were again invited to the spring as upon our first visit. The deportment of Chief Bowles indicated that he felt the seriousness of his position. He told Mr. Lacy that there had been a meeting of the chiefs and head men in council; that the young men were for war; that all who were in the council were for war except himself and Big Mush; that his young men believed they could whip the whites; that he knew the white could ultimately whip them but that it would cost them ten years of bloody frontier war. He inquired of Mr. Lacy if action on the President's demands could not be postponed until his people could make and gather their crops. Mr. Lacy informed him that he had no authority or discretion beyond what was said in the communication from the President. The language of Chief Bowles indicated that he regarded this as settling the question and that the war must come. He said to Mr. Lacy that he was an old man (being then about eighty-three years of age, but looking vigorous and strong) and that in the course of nature he could not live much longer, and that to him it mattered but little. But he added that he felt much solicitude for his wives (he had three) and for his children; that, if he fought, the whites would

kill him, and if he refused to fight his own people would kill him. He said he had led his people a long time and that he felt it to be his duty to stand by them whatever fate might befall him. I was strongly impressed by the manly bearing and frankness and candor of the agent and the chief. Neither could read or write, except that Mr. Lacy could mechanically sign his name. During their two conferences they exhibited a dignity of bearing which could hardly have been expected by the more enlightened diplomats. There was no attempt to deceive or mislead made by either of them."

Apparently within a few days (or immediately) after this conference Bowles hurriedly began to confer with his head men, and warriors of the different bands associated with him, and evidently about the first week of July (1839) had concentrated his forces in the northwest corner of Cherokee County, and east of the Neches River. Reagan says that Bowles "Was joined by the Shawnees, the Delawares and by warriors from all the wild tribes of Indians, and at that time there were a good many of them."

Reagan²⁶ states that: "Colonel Rusk, with a regiment of volunteers was the first in the field on the part of the Texans. General Albert Sidney Johnson, the Secretary of War, and Adj. Gen. Hugh McLeod accompanied this regiment. It went into camp about six miles to the east of Bowles' camp, and for ten days or more negotiations were carried on between the belligerents, Bowles negotiating to gain time to collect his warriors from the wild tribes, and the Texans negotiating to gain time for the arrival of Burleson's regiment of regulars from the west and Colonel Landrum's regiment of volunteers from the redlands (of east Texas, and known as "redlanders"—W). A neutral boundary had been agreed on between the belligerents and the men of neither side were to pass it without notice."

Colonel Burleson, who had been detailed to collect a force on the Colorado for the purpose of using them if necessary against the Indians elsewhere, was ordered to march his troops to re-enforce the Texans under Rusk, who had taken position about six miles east of Bowles' camp. Landrum and the troops under him would arrive within a few days. In the meantime

²⁶ Reagan; *Ibid* No. XXV.

the Commission appointed by President Lamar consisting of Vice-President David G. Burnet, General Albert Sidney Johnston, Secretary of War; Hugh McLeod, Adjutant General; and Colonel Thomas J. Rusk, to carry on negotiations with Bowl with a view of paying the Indians for their improvements, and peace removal, but the negotiations abruptly came to naught.

As to the precise spot where Bowles had his camp, the author has not been able to learn more than is told by Reagan as above stated: "That Chief Bowles took his position east of the Neches River in the northwest corner of what is now Cherokee County." The regiment of Colonel Rusk went into camp about six miles to the east of Bowles' camp. This description by Reagan would indicate that perhaps the camp of Chief Bowles was near the point where Saline Creek flows into the Neches River, and east of the Neches River; that is to say in the vicinity of the Neches Saline, near which place Bowles made his headquarters. If this assumption is correct then the position of Colonel Thomas J. Rusk at that time (Rusk's camp apparently being called Camp Johnston) was only a short distance, possibly west or somewhat northwest of the present town of Larissa, Cherokee County.

An agreement had been made by the Commission and Bowles that "Neither party was to break camp without giving notice to the other party."

Colonel Landrum's regiment reached the camp of the Texas forces on July 13th or 14th, and Colonel Burleson's troops finally arrived and reached the east bank of the Neches, on July 14th, 1839.

Reagan²⁷ also states, with reference to the combined forces of Texans, that: "On assembling of this little army of three regiments (at Camp Johnston—W) the volunteers wanted Colonel Rusk for their commander, while the regulars wanted Burleson for that position. It was agreed to solve the question by having General Kelsey H. Douglass elected as brigadier general and placed in command.

Early on the morning of July 15th, Chief Bowles sent his son, John Bowles, accompanied by Fox Fields, under a flag of

²⁷ Reagan; *Ibid* No. XXV.

truce to notify the Texans that he would break camp that morning, and move to the west of the Neches River. They delivered their message to General Johnston and having done so inquired if they could return in safety. General Johnston told the messenger that his father had acted honorably in giving the notice according to agreement and that he would see that they had safe conduct out of our camp, and he detailed a number of men to see them safely a half-mile beyond our pickets. He also told them to inform Chief Bowles that the Texas forces would break camp that morning and pursue them."

The Battle of the First Day with Bowles (July 15th, 1839)

A brief reference to the first day of the battle (July 15th) with Bowles will be here given for the purpose of locating as definitely as possible the situation of Camp Johnston, as well as Bowles' camp, and to also show the distance the Cherokees and associated tribes under Bowles retreated that day, as shown in Report No. 8 of General K. H. Douglass to the Secretary of War, which in part reads as follows: "The enemy was engaged on the 15th, about sixteen miles from Camp Johnson (Doubtless Johnston—W) from whence we marched about half past one o'clock P. M." It will be recalled that Camp Johnston was about six miles to the east of Bowles' camp. The distance from Camp Johnston to the battle ground of the first day in Henderson County (about three or four miles northwest of Chandler) was about sixteen miles.

The writer has been over a large part of this line of retreat of the Indians, lying along the west bank of the Neches river, and can say that, for the most part, it is a flat, or level country often subject to overflow, and thickly covered with trees of unusual size and height, including sweet-gum, various kind of oak, and in some places pine and hickory.

A more detailed account of the battle of the first day with Bowles and the Cherokees may be summarized from the official Report No. 8 of General K. H. Douglass to the Secretary of War, dated July 16th, 1839, and also Lamar Papers, Doc. No. 1372, as follows: "On yesterday negotiations on the part of the Commissioners having failed, under your orders the whole force

was put in motion towards the encampment of Bowles on the Neches. Colonel Landrum crossed to the west side of the Neches, and up the ravine. The regiments under Colonel Burleson and Rusk moved directly to the camp (of Bowles—W) upon reaching which it was found to be abandoned. Their trail was ascertained and rapid pursuit made. About six miles above their encampment in the vicinity of the Delaware (apparently on Battle Creek, Henderson County, about three or four miles northwest of Chandler, and about sixteen miles northwest of Camp Johnston, Cherokee County—W), at the head of a prairie they were discovered by the spy company under Captain Jim Carter and a detachment of about twenty-five from Captain Todd's company lead by General Rusk. The enemy deployed from the top of a hill, advanced and fired four or five times and immediately occupied a thicket and ravine on the left as the troops advance. The lines were immediately formed and the action became general. The ravine was instantly charged and the enemy was driven from the ravine and thicket, leaving eighteen dead on the field that were found and carrying off their wounded. Texan loss was two killed, one wounded mortally, and five slightly."

On account of several additional incidents that occurred, the writer desires to also add the Hon. J. H. Reagan's account of the first days' battle with Bowles, as follows: ²⁸ "The Indians occupied the bed of a dry creek running north to south and then turning to the east. Just above this bend there was a prairie bottom nearly half a mile long to the east of that part of the creek running south; and commencing near the lower end of the prairie and extending north parallel with the creek was a thick growth of hackberry bushes and rattan vines some three hundred yards long. When the firing of our scouts was heard, Burleson's regiment crossed the creek below the bend where it ran to the east and moved forward to the rear of the line of the Indians who were posted in the creek bed above the bend. Rusk's regiment, to which I belonged, moved forward to opposite the lower end of the prairie just mentioned and there wheeled to the right and in front of the line of the enemy. As the Hon. David S. Kaufman and I, riding side by side, were making this turn an Indian raised up, probably eight yards off, and fired. Kaufman and I wheeled to the left and chased him until he

²⁸ Reagan; *Ibid* No. XXV.

jumped into the creek. We were then at the lower end of the hackberry and rattan thicket. Instead of turning back, not knowing the length of the thicket, we headed our horses between it and the creek and ran the gantlet of the fire of the Indians at short range the whole length of it; but neither of us was injured nor were our horses. Just as we were turning the head of the thicket, Dr. Rogers, of Nacogdoches, approached—he belonged to Rusk's command—and was hit by three shots and killed. Others were coming on at the same time, among them Colonel Crane, of Montgomery County, who stopped his horse near us. I cried out to him, 'Colonel, don't stop there.' At that moment a shot passed through both his arms and body. He said to me, 'Call Robbins,' who I believe was his brother-in-law. Robbins came promptly and Colonel Crane rode by him for two or three rods, telling him what messages to bear to his family and then fell from his horse quite dead. In this engagement we lost six men killed and a few wounded. We camped on the battlefield."

Regarding the camp on this battlefield it is evident that it was named Camp Carter, as will be seen later in the report of General K. H. Douglass, of July 16th, 1839, and made on the following day after the first battle. In recent years considerable confusion has arisen as to the time and precise location of the first day's battle with Bowl and the Cherokees, some parties being of the opinion that it occurred about twenty miles or more further south than was the case. As has been previously mentioned, it is very clearly stated in the report of General K. H. Douglass: "The enemy was engaged on the 15th, about sixteen miles from Camp Johnson" (doubtless Johnston—W). To determine the question accurately as to the precise location of the battleground of the first day, the writer, in the summer and fall of 1920, made two visits to this battleground and had pointed out to him the exact place where it occurred.

In addition, the writer has conferred with probably the best living authorities on the subject, and those who for many years have lived or are now living in the immediate vicinity of this battleground and who, by personal conversation (sometimes with those who were in this fight), and by tradition, have perfected their knowledge of the encounters with Bowles. My informants were such reliable citizens as Messrs. Preston Parker, Bum L.

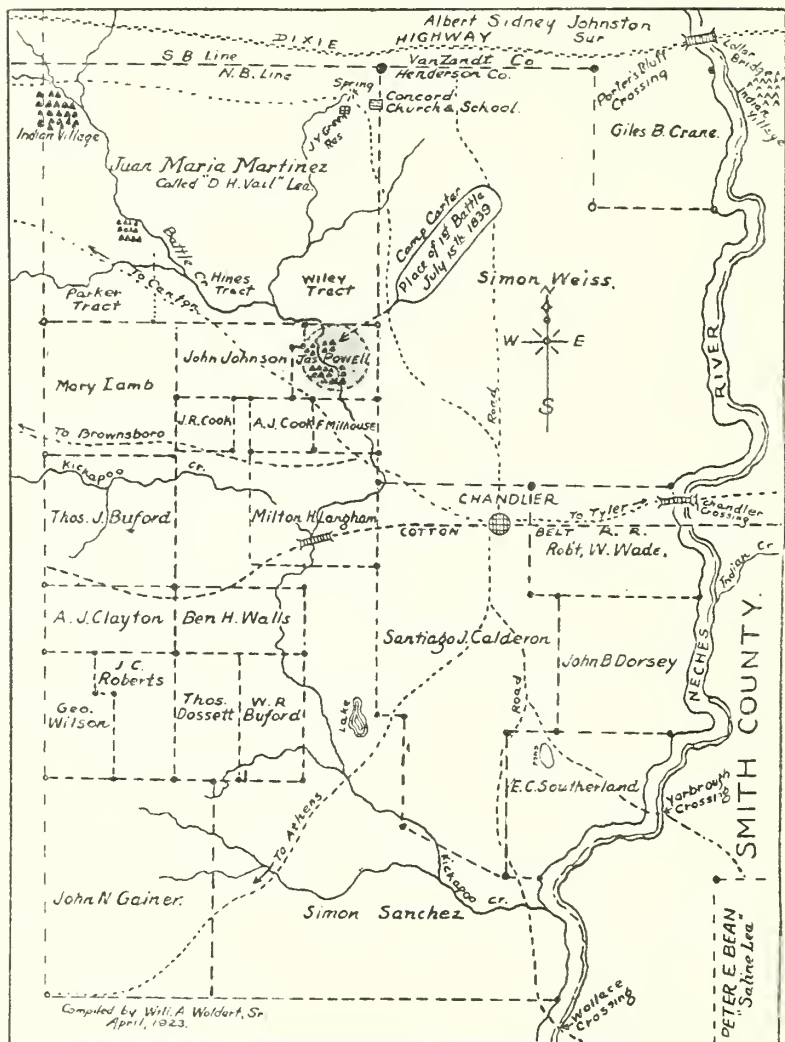
Walker, Henry Beckham, Tom Ingram and others. Mr. Ingram had resided within two or three miles of this first battleground for a period of twenty-four years; Mr. Preston Parker had resided within one and a half miles of this battleground for a period of thirty years, and Mr. Henry Beckham within a mile or so of the battleground for four years, and within about ten miles of it for some sixty-two years; while Mr. Bum L. Walker had resided within about ten miles of it for a period of about fifty years.

Mr. Preston Parker obtained his information from Major Walters, who was in the first day's fight with Bowles; Mr. Bum L. Walker obtained his information from Mr. Isaac Hamilton (an uncle of Mr. H. V. Hamilton, formerly an editor of *Tyler*) who was with Rusk's command; Mr. Tom Ingram obtained his information from Messrs. A. Angling, Mr. Eubanks and John Lollar, all of whom were in the battle with Bowles and his associates; and Mr. Henry Beckham obtained his information from Mr. Preston Parker, Sam Hines and Gus Bell. Mr. Hines had resided in the neighborhood of the battleground for possibly thirty-five years. All of these credible citizens agree that the battle of the first day occurred at a point in Henderson County, Texas, on "Battle Creek" about three and a half miles northwest of what is now Chandler and about two miles south of the Van Zandt County line. Skirmishing evidently began slightly south of this point, as shown by bullets removed from pine trees along this route. Mr. Preston Parker pointed out to the author the exact spot where the principal fight was said to have occurred, which is at that point in Battle Creek, which flows southward, and makes a sudden bend toward the "east" as referred to by Reagan. I stepped off the length of this bend in the creek, and found the distance to be about one hundred and fifty feet in length. The place where the principal fight of the day, as pointed out to me, is situated in what is now the J. Powell survey, adjoining the Martinez league.

Bayliss Allen (colored) lived on this tract of land, in September, 1920, his house and what was said to be the graves of two officers (probably Colonel Crane and Doctor Rogers) killed in the battle, being situated about two hundred yards due west of the bend in the creek. The graves of these two soldiers were said to be about forty feet due northwest of Bayless Allen's

house. The writer has had these two graves marked by large iron pins driven into the ground.

While the principal focus of the battle was as stated above, I was also informed that skirmishing first began at a point



about where Battle Creek flows into Kickapoo Creek, a mile west of Chandler, and where the St. Louis Southwestern Railway now crosses Kickapoo Creek, there being a running fight from there for a distance of three or four miles up Battle Creek, and

in the woods, to the principal battleground as stated above, and shown by the accompanying map. The place where the principal fight occurred seems to have been called "Camp Carter." The writer, as well as others with him, picked up arrow heads, and a buck-shot on the battlefield in September, 1920.

The Second Day's Battle with Bowles (July 16th, 1839); The Death of Bowles

After the Indians under Bowles were routed in the late afternoon of July 15th, I have been informed that they retreated northwest up Battle Creek some two or three miles, then turned northeast (towards the Delaware village, as mentioned by Reagan) until they reached a point in Van Zandt County, about six miles distant, and slightly northwest of the first day's battle and where the second fight occurred on the following day, an account of which is given in Report No. 8, dated August, 1839, of General Kelsey H. Douglass on the "Campaign Against the Cherokees," and as follows: "Headquarters Camp Carter, 16th of July, 1839: On the morning of July 16th, 1839, two regiments (about 500) under Rusk and Burleson, left Camp Carter. Orders were sent to Colonel Landrum to continue his march up east side of the Neches River (which it was understood he had crossed) and join the main body on its march to Harris, the main body moving up on the west side. The two regiments had proceeded about five miles when met by one of the spies of Captain Carter's company, who reported the enemy to be a short distance in advance. Colonel Burleson was ordered to sustain the spy company and General Rusk to sustain Colonel Burleson in case the enemy should make battle. This order being communicated to the command, the whole force advanced. Burleson briskly detaching, and leading the two regular companies of his regiment, commanded by Captains Jordan and Howard, to the brow of the hill overlooking the ravine in which the enemy formed and prepared to dismount his men for action, at which time a detachment of the Indians had engaged the spy company and commenced firing upon his men before they had dismounted, wounding seven horses and killing one man. They were soon repulsed by Colonel Burleson and the spy company and took refuge in the ravine to the left, where the main body of the Indians were. The position the enemy occupied was a very favorable one for defense, they occupying a ravine and thicket

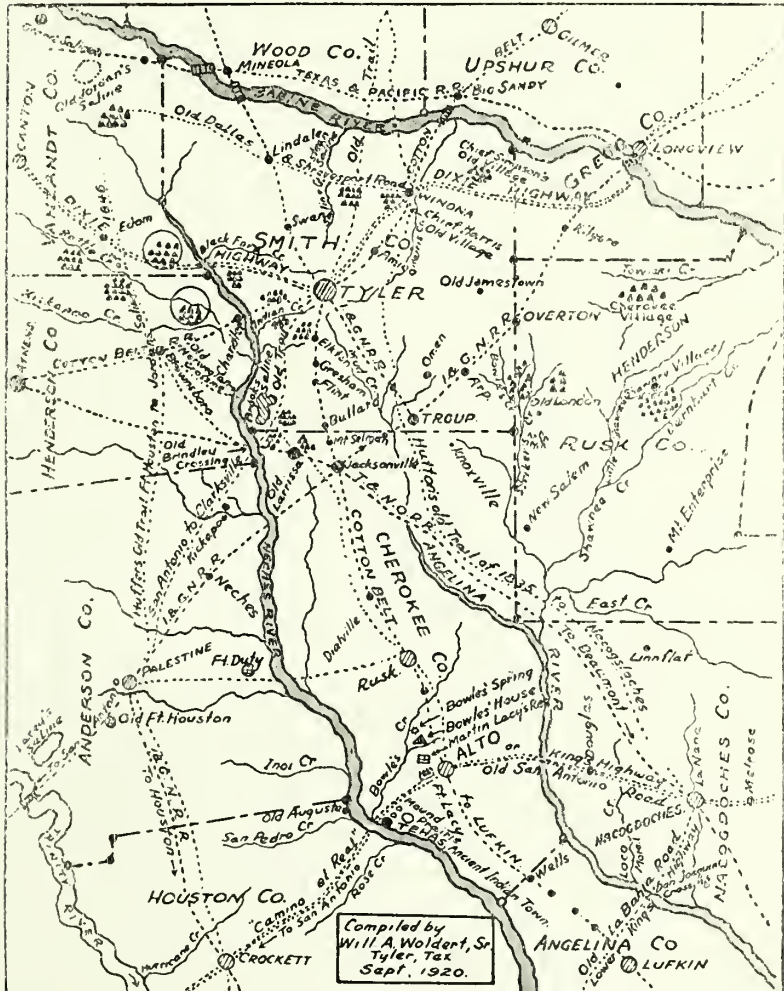
and our troops having to advance upon them through open woods and down a considerable hill. General Rusk then formed his regiment and occupied the point of the hill on both sides of the road, when the action became general. The enemy kept up a brisk fire for about an hour and a half, which was returned by the Texan troops who continued to advance upon the enemy until a concerted signal of charge was given, whereupon the enemy was driven from its stronghold and forced to retreat into a dense thicket and swamp in the bottom of the Neches, about half a mile from where the enemy were first engaged. The enemy made no stand in the bottom and swamp.

"Recent development have convinced the commanding general that the force which engaged us on that day was not less than seven or eight hundred. The enemy suffered severely—their own report is a loss of one hundred killed and wounded—amongst their slain left on the field was their arch chief and the long-dreaded Mexican ally, Colonel Bowles. Our loss was two killed and thirty wounded, three mortally. The engagement lasted an hour and a half and closed in the Neches bottom at the crossing to the Great saline and the Sabine River." Reagan states "That Colonel Landrum, it was said, was misled by his guide, and did not reach the balance of the command until after the battles."

Since there is considerable confusion as to the exact location of the battleground of the second day (July 16th) and as to where Bowles met his death, the writer, in the summer of 1920, made a visit to this battle ground, and had it pointed out him the exact place where the battle is said to have occurred, and where Bowles was killed. In addition, the writer has had lengthy conferences with those who have lived many years in the immediate vicinity of where the battle occurred, these including Messrs. Preston Parker, Jim Ingram and Al Hill (the latter being colored). Mr. Jim Ingram has lived within a distance of about four miles from this battleground for some seventy years, and Al Hill has lived within a distance of two miles of same for the past sixty-three years.

The precise location of the battleground of the second day is situated in what is now Van Zandt County, about four miles north of the Henderson County line, in the North Hambrick

tract, about half a mile west of the Neches river, about half or three-quarters of a mile north of what is now known as "Battle Spring" and about one-fourth mile south of the Neches River, which here bends toward the east, thence southward, or south-



east. Veasy Prairie is situated about one and a half miles toward the southeast. The spot pointed out to me as being the place where the battle raged the greatest was on a slight knoll, said to have been possibly a clearing, or Indian farm, or "patch."

On the west side of the battleground is a ridge or small hill, some forty feet in height, extending north and south and sloping both toward the Neches bottom on the east and also toward the Neches bottom on the north side. Along the south side of this ridge or hill there is a ravine some ten feet in depth and possibly fifteen feet in width, and draining toward the east, becoming gradually shallower as it extends onward into the Neches bottom. A rather bold spring is situated on the west bank of this ravine near the ridge, and near the bed of a small branch which flows down the ravine toward the east. The small knoll where it was said the principal fight occurred, and where the last stand was made by the Indians, is about two hundred yards northeast of the spring and about one hundred and fifty yards from the ridge on the west. The writer has in his possession several flint arrow heads, a large leaden slug, a large flattened lead bullet, which were found on this knoll; some of the arrow heads were found near or on this knoll, and another arrow head found some 200 yards south of this knoll. These were presented to me by Mr. R. S. Cauthron, of Edom, Texas, one of the present owners of the battleground tract. It is said that leaden bullets have been dug out of the trees adjacent to this knoll.

The Neches bottom on the east side and one the north side extends to the edge of the battleground. The spot where the rugged old Chief Bowles laid down his life in defense of his tribe, now marked close by with the willow and the sweet gum, was pointed out to be as being situated about forty or fifty feet north of the lower end of the ravine extending eastward from the spring, and where the ridge flattens out into the Neches bottom, about fifty yards due east of the slight knoll mentioned, and about two hundred and fifty yards slightly northeast of the spring. In June, 1921, the writer marked this spot by means of three rocks and a large iron rod driven into the ground. To further confirm the accuracy of this location of the battleground of the second day (July 16th) reference is now made to a deed

on record at Canton, the county seat of Van Zandt County, and as follows: Mr. W. R. Hall purchased a tract of land from Patrick Gormley, as shown by warranty deed dated January 1st, 185g, filed January 23d, 1855, recorded Vol. D., p. 133, Deed Records of Van Zandt County, Texas, and called the "Battle Ground Place." Mr. Burwell H. Hambrick purchased this tract of land from Mr. W. R. Hall, as shown by warranty deed dated April 8th, 1859, filed July 14th, 1860, recorded Vol. I, p. 504, Deed Records, Van Zanda County.

Bowles' Sword

The tradition of Bowles' sword has been furnished me by the following citizens of Henderson, and Rusk County, Texas, namely: Mr. John Arnold, Dr. W. P. White, Prof. C. A. Lanier, and Capt. W. A. Miller.

When Bowles was slain upon the battlefield of July 16th, 1836, his sword was awarded to Capt. Robert W. Smith on the same day, and Smith afterwards turned this sword over to Clinton Lodge, No. 23, A. F. and A. M., of Henderson, Texas, where it was used as the tiler's sword of that lodge. Afterwards this sword was loaned or presented to Colonel James H. Jones of Henderson, Texas, who carried it with him through the Civil War, and who later returned it to the lodge at Henderson from whom it had been obtained. About the year 1890, or 1891, this sword was presented to Judge Will H. Barker of Oklahoma, to be turned over to the Cherokee Nation, the capital of which in 1890 and 1891 was Tahlequah.

After receiving the sword Judge Barker who was then speaker of the lower house of the Cherokee legislative council, presented the sword to the Cherokee Nation, his eloquent oration

being printed in both the English and Cherokee languages. The sword was subsequently placed in the archives of the Cherokee Nation, probably Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

A description of Bowles' sword has been given me by John

Arnold, Esq., and Dr. W. P. White of Henderson, Texas, as follows: The sword of Bowles was made of steel and was about three feet and two or three inches in length, the blade being dull and about one and one-quarter inches in width. It was not a double-edged sword, the back of blade being thickened. The point of the sword was dull and had a long tapering tip or curve to it. The hilt of the sword was made of brass with a brass shield of about three inches in length, the hilt of the sword being somewhat enlarged inside the shield so the hand could grasp it the more tightly.

There were no inscriptions or decorations on the sword. It was a military sword, and somewhat tarnished by age.

Death of Bowles

As to the death of Bowles, the Hon. John H. Reagan possibly gives the best and most accurate account, as follows: "Chief Bowles displayed great courage in these battles. In the second engagement he remained in the field on horseback wearing a military hat, a silk vest and handsome sword and sash which had been presented to him by General Sam Houston." ("He was mounted upon a very fine sorrel horse 'paint horse' with blazed face and four white feet—"History of Texas, by John Henry Brown, p. 163).

"He was a magnificent specimen of barbaric manhood and was very conspicuous during the whole battle, being the last to leave the field when the Indians retreated. His horse had been wounded many times and he shot through the thigh. His horse

Note—In November, 1921, the Texas Cherokees filed with the Supreme Court of the United States at Washington, a petition for leave to file an original bill against the State of Texas for recovery of 1,500,000 acres of land described in the above contribution. It was the contention of the Cherokees that what was known as the "Western Cherokees" was a foreign state, and thus had a right to sue the State of Texas for recovery of these lands. After hearing counsel for the petitioners the Court refused to grant the right to file the petition asked for, and at the same time declaring that the Cherokee Nation was not a foreign state in the sense in which the term "foreign state" is used in the Constitution, and basing its decision on the case of the State of Georgia against the Cherokees.

was disabled and could go no further and he dismounted and started to walk off. He walked forward a little and fell and then rose to a sitting position facing us and immediately in front of the company to which I belonged. Then as he sat up with his face toward us, I started to him with a view to secure his surrender. At the same time my captain, Bob Smith, with a pistol in his hand, ran toward him from farther down the line. We reached him at the same instant, and realizing what was imminent, I called 'Captain, don't shoot him.' But he fired, striking Bowles in the head and killing him instantly. (Note—the pistol used was a single barrel pistol with flint-lock—W). I had been so impressed with a manliness and dignity of Chief Bowles in the Consultation which preceded the war, and with his conspicuous bravery in battle that I did not want to see him killed, and would have saved his life if I could.

"It ought to be said for Captain Smith that he had known of the many murders and thefts by Indians and possibly did in

Note—In the compilation of this contribution the writer extends sincere thanks for many favors to the following named: Mrs. W. F. Partlow, of Mt. Selman; Mr. T. H. Singletary, of Rusk. Mr. Preston Parker, of Chandler; Mr. Tom Ingram, Mr. Joe White and Mr. Alf Loftin, of Tyler; Mr. Jim Ingram, of Chandler; T. O. Woldert, Esq., of Houston; Colonel Andrew J. Houston, of LaPorte; Mr. Ludwig Anderson, of Bullard; Mr. Wentworth Manning, of Wills Point; Mr. J. E. Bean, of Kilgore. Dr. Alex. Dienst, of Temple; Katherine Elliott (State Archivist), of Austin; Dr. Emmet Starr, of Claremore, Okla.; Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn, of Oklahoma City; Reverend George L. Crocket, of San Augustine; Mrs. John Henson, Albert Blackwell, J. E. Arnold and Dr. W. P. White, of Henderson. Mr. Gus J. Woldert, of Ft. Smith, Ark., and also to Will A. Woldert, Sr., of Tyler, for his painstaking care in drawing the maps.

Editorial Note—With reference to the finding of flint arrow points and fragments of broken pottery on certain sites supposed to have been occupied by the Cherokees in eastern Texas, it is well to bear in mind the fact that such articles may be of prehistoric origin. The Cherokee people had been in contact with traders from the English colonies on the Atlantic seaboard for a full century before Bowles and his band came to the country west of the Mississippi. Among the earliest wares received in barter were knives, spear heads and arrow points made of iron or steel. Indeed, certain Indian craftsmen in various tribes, soon became adept in the manufacture of such articles, using old hoop-iron and other castoff fragments of metal. Inasmuch as the fullblood Cherokees of the present day have lost even a tradition of the use of arrow points fashioned from flint, chert or other stone, it may well be doubted whether any of the warriors of Bowles' band made and used such points for their arrows. Moreover, it is authoritatively stated that the Cherokee people had lost or discarded the primitive art of making pottery by the time of their migration to the present Oklahoma, so it is not certain that the art was still continued by the people of Bowles' band. All of Eastern Texas was included in the habitat of the Caddoan peoples of a comparatively recent prehistoric period and these Caddoan peoples ex-

the heat of battle what under other circumstances he would not have done, for he was esteemed as a worthy citizen.

"That night (after the battle) we could hear the hum and bustle of their camp the greater part of the night and the next morning they were gone."

celled in the manufacture of pottery. As the ruins and remains of Caddoan villages are very common in that part of Texas, the numerous, low, circular mounds each having been formed as the result of the collapse of a timber-framed, dome-shaped, earth-covered human habitation, it is not uncommon to find fragments of their earthenware scattered over some fields.

J. B. T.

THE PROGRESS AND POSSIBILITIES OF MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORY¹

The dominant concept of the value of history at the present time is that of orientation. The representatives of the American Historical Association on the Joint Commission on the presentation of the Social Studies have recently expressed this concept as follows: "History places, and helps to explain successive stages in the development of mankind. It constantly extends backward the memory of living men and gives them a sense of perspective to aid them in forming their judgments on contemporary affairs. In the light of history our most valued social possessions are seen to be deeply rooted in the past but the world is viewed as undergoing a continuous process of adjustment and change." If this concept is true as applied to the subject matter of history it would seem to be equally applicable to historical work itself; that is, if we are to understand the present situation and tendencies and the possibilities for the future in the field of history, it is necessary to look backward and observe the developments in the past.

A comprehensive review of past activities in the field of Mississippi Valley history is not possible within the limits of this address but our purpose may be served to some extent by noting certain lines of development during comparatively recent years. Until about a generation ago professional students of history manifested little interest in state and local and even sectional history. They were wont to confine their attention to national and international affairs and to consign these other fields to the antiquarian. The historical societies of the Mississippi Valley, with one or two exceptions, were largely antiquarian institutions, performing, it is true, a valuable service for posterity in collecting and preserving some of the materials for the history of their communities, but having little conception of the scientific method in history. Largely as a result of the work of Professor Turner, with its emphasis on the importance of the

¹ This paper was given as the presidential address at the sixteenth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Oklahoma City, March 29, 1923.

frontier, of sectionalism, and of social and economic forces in the development of the American people, this situation has been materially altered. Realizing that the history of the people—social history—must be based upon a study of them in their local communities, the professional students in our colleges and universities have more and more recognized state and local history as suitable fields for scholarly research, while the societies have shown an inclination to recognize historical work as a profession requiring special training for its effective practice, instead of as an avocation suitable for the retired politician or journalist. As a result of this rapprochement of these two elements in the field of Mississippi Valley history, there has been a marked increase in their co-operation with each other; and this has improved the quality and increased the quantity of their work. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association itself is at the same time a result of this movement and a prominent factor in its development.

At the fourth annual meeting of this association twelve years ago, I had the privilege of reading a paper entitled, "Some Materials for the Social History of the Mississippi Valley in the Nineteenth Century."² The point of view of this paper was that, if the scope of history is to be broadened to include all the activities of the people, "a corresponding broadening of the sources from which history is to be written is necessary"; and attention was called to certain classes of material of which little use had then been made. It is not likely that this paper had any appreciable effect upon the progress of historical activities, for most of the workers in the field probably were unaware of its existence. It may be permissible, however, to recall some of the suggestions included therein, as a means of indicating the progress which has been made in certain directions since that time.

The first class of material referred to was election statistics, and the statement was made that "in some states, and presumably in every state of the Mississippi Valley, an official manuscript record of all returns of elections is preserved in the office of the Secretary of State." The writer now knows that such official records have by no means been preserved in all the states, but the lack can be supplied to some extent from unofficial sources. The suggestion was made that these statistics should

² Mississippi Valley Historical Association, proceedings, 1910-1911, pp. 139-151.

be made "available to scholars by the publication of accurate compilations together with maps illustrating all the more important elections." Since then such a compilation has been made for the state of Illinois, and it is understood that it will be published in the near future by the Illinois State Historical Library. For no other state, however, so far as is known, has anything of this sort been attempted.

Attention was next called to the importance of population statistics and the desirability of constructing series of population maps "in which the townships or other small divisions should be taken as units." The inadequacy of the published census statistics for the early periods, especially those of state censuses, was pointed out, and the publication of original schedules, when they have been preserved, was suggested. The value of nativity statistics for the study of the composition of the population of any given region is obvious, but unfortunately such statistics were not collected by the federal census before 1850. The suggestion was made, however, that by starting with the names of heads of families as preserved in the original schedules, it might be possible "to secure information about a sufficiently large proportion of the inhabitants of a district to make possible reliable generalizations as to the nativity, or former residence, of the people of that district." Something of this sort has been attempted for Illinois in 1818, the year of admission to the Union, on the basis of manuscript schedules of a census of that year, **and the results are embodied in one of the volumes published by the Illinois Centennial Commission.**³ So far as is known no publication of census schedules for any of the states of the valley has been undertaken as yet; but attention of many of the state historical agencies has been called recently to the schedules of early federal censuses in Washington and some of them are securing photostatic copies of such as pertain to their communities. Publication will doubtless follow in the course of time.

The historical value and the condition of county archives in the Mississippi Valley was another subject dealt with in the paper; and greater attention to the problem of their preservation, the compilation of detailed inventories, and ultimate "publication of some of the older and more important of the local rec-

³ Solon J. Buck, (Illinois in 1818 (Illinois centennial publications, introductory, vol. Springfield, 1917, 93-96.

ords" were advocated. Here again Illinois has led the way with the compilation and publication a few years ago of such an inventory of the county archives of that state.⁴ One state outside the valley—California—has followed the example,⁵ and for one state in the valley a similar inventory of the archives of about one-quarter of the counties has been compiled but not yet published. Little improvement is apparent in the care of material of this sort; but one state—Colorado—has published, through its university, a volume of "Historical Collections" composed mainly of selections from the early records of one of its counties.⁶

The importance of the records of the occupation of land as an index to the westward movement was also pointed out. "It is certain," the paper stated, "that there are records in existence by means of which the date of entry of every legal subdivision of public lands could be obtained and on the basis of this information it would be possible to construct county maps, which might afterwards be consolidated into state maps, showing just what lands passed into private hands during each year or each five years or decade as might prove feasible." The records of the general land office at Washington, land records in state and county archives, records of land grant railroads, and even those of abstract offices were suggested as possible sources of the necessary information. A map of "Lands Entered in Illinois" prior to January 1, 1819, published in the introductory volume of the Illinois Centennial Publication illustrates the possibilities of work along these lines;⁷ but it remained for the Wisconsin Historical Society in its "Domesday Book" project to undertake the stupendous task of working out the relations of the people to the land throughout the history of the state in such a way that the result will be practically a history of the settlement and development of a large portion of the townships." Few other states are likely to be in a position to undertake a task so large as this in the near future, but there would seem

4 Theodore C. Pease, *The County Archives of Illinois* (Illinois historical collections, vol. 12, Springfield, 1915).

5 Owen C. Coy, *Guide to the County Archives of California* (Sacramento, 1919).

6 *Early Records of Gilpin County, Colorado, 1859-1861*, edited by Thomas Maitland Marshal (University of Colorado historical collections, vol. 2, Boulder, 1920).

7 Buck, *Illinois in 1818*, 52.

8 Joseph Schafer, "The Wisconsin Domesday book," in *Wisconsin magazine of history*, 4:61-74, "Documenting Local History," *Ibid.*, 5:142-159, "The Microscopic Method Applied to History," in *Minnesota history bulletin*, 4:3-20.

to be no reason why similar, or even more intensive, investigations, based on the land records, should not be made for typical areas in each state.

The letters and reports of the representatives of home missionary and Bible societies, which, it was stated, would "throw a flood of light upon the development and social conditions of the western states and territories," are still, for the most part, hidden under a bushel in the storerooms of the American Home Missionary Society and similar organizations in the East or in the files of little known periodicals and annuals. Some of our historical libraries are now assembling large collections of the "proceedings, reports, year-books, and other publications of the different religious denominations," and occasional students of special topics delve here and there into the mass of unpublished documents; but, on the whole, this class of material remains even more inaccessible to the investigator than were the "Jesuit Relations" before the publication of Thwaites' monumental edition.

With reference to other classes of material discussed in the paper, such as newspaper files and private papers, little can be said that is not already familiar to most of the workers in the field. All our collecting agencies are endeavoring to strengthen their collection along these lines, although in some cases it seems that more active search might be substitute for the passive policy of accepting whatever is offered. Current files of the more important newspapers are being preserved in historical libraries throughout the valley, except perhaps in two or three states; but the problem of storage space is becoming serious for the state institutions and the most feasible solution of it would seem to be the development of local depositories through the public libraries or local historical societies. The importance of the preservation of papers of men and women in the everyday walks of life, from which the student of social history could "draw information of great value about the ordinary life and experiences of the people and about the opinions of ordinary people upon questions of state," is not yet fully appreciated; and the same is true with reference to the papers of industrial and commercial establishments and the business papers of individuals.

From this survey of the progress of history in the Mississippi Valley along certain lines during the last twelve years, it would appear that we have cause neither for elation nor for depression. Advances have been made, here in one field, there in another, but generally without much systematic planning and with little consideration of the valley as a whole as distinguished from its component states. And now, what of the future, what should be the main lines of attack during the next decade or two, where should the emphasis be laid? It seems to the writer that the principal desiderata of the immediate future are: More extensive and more systematic publication of the important sources for the history of the valley and its subdivisions; increased co-operation with each other on the part of the institutions and individuals working in the field; and vigorous efforts to carry the gospel of salvation through a knowledge of the past to all who are capable of receiving it,—and their number is probably much larger than we are inclined to think. These three lines of endeavor are closely interwoven, each has its bearing on the others, and they cannot be adequately considered apart from one another.

Under the head of co-operation we may include not only the joint support of enterprises relating to the whole family or considerable parts thereof but also a readiness to pass on our ideas and experiences and to take advantage of those of others. The opportunity which our federal system offers for experimentation in government has often been pointed out; the same opportunity exists in the historical field; and when an idea is successfully developed in one state we should be ready to adapt it to the situation in the other states. Both of these aspects of co-operation can be illustrated by a consideration of the first desideratum mentioned, the more comprehensive publication of source materials.

For large sections of Mississippi Valley history the subjects do not lend themselves to division by states. This applies especially of course to the earlier period, but it is also true of many phases of our history after the state lines were marked out. What would seem to be needed therefore is some arrangement for the publication of such general material on a broader scale than can be expected from any single state institution. An illustration may serve to make the problem clearer. As a result

of co-operative support on the part of individuals and institutions a calendar has been compiled of material in the French archives on Mississippi Valley history; and this, it is understood, is to be published by the Carnegie Institution. But a calendar is not sufficient. We ought to have a series of volumes containing in full not only all the important documents listed in this calendar, but also all important unpublished material to be found elsewhere relating to the period of French exploration and occupation. Much of the published material even should probably be included also, although, where the work has been adequately done, summaries and references might be sufficient. Other examples, such as the great mass of material on the fur trade, might be cited, but this will be enough to illustrate the point.

Several ways present themselves in which this problem might conceivably be solved. The method heretofore has been for state agencies to publish selections relating specifically to their own areas together with such general documents as seem to be necessary for interpretation of the others. The disadvantages of this plan are obvious; it does not provide the student of the general subject with a comprehensive collection of his sources and it involves great duplication of work. Our own association would seem to be the logical agency for the publication of material relating to the valley as a whole, and plans for work of this sort were made a decade or more ago, but the difficulties of financing have been insurmountable. A solution which seems to have possibilities is the following: Let each state institution interested in a given project set aside a sum from its publication funds to finance it; let the actual publication be carried out by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association or by an agency specially created for the purpose or even by one of the state institutions concerned, but for all the subscribers to the fund; and finally let the edition be divided among the subscribers in proportion to their subscriptions and distributed by each of them just as if the work were its own publication. Many details would have to be worked out, of course, but the general scheme is feasible if the spirit of co-operation is strong enough, if the desire to advance the cause of history can take precedence over the quite legitimate desire to enhance the reputations of our individual institutions.

While it is true that our state boundaries were arbitrary

in their origin, nevertheless it is also true that the states have become political and to some extent social and economic entities; and there are, therefore, many phases of history, the materials for which group themselves naturally by states. Here then the opportunity for co-operation presents itself chiefly in connection with supplying information about documents relating to one state which may be known to workers in another and in sharing ideas and experiences with each other. When Texas publishes a volume of political platforms,⁹ when Illinois compiles a volume of election statistics, when Colorado brings out a volume of county records, when Wisconsin starts a constitutional series,¹⁰ should not those in charge of historical activities in the other states study these works carefully, note their usefulness and their defects, and consider the possibility of applying the ideas back of them to the situation in their own provinces?

But even more important than the consideration as possible models of single volumes and series produced by other states is the study of their general plans for the publication of the sources of their history, if they have any such plans. Here it seems to the writer that Illinois has pointed the way with a plan at once comprehensive, logical, and flexible. Other states have issued volumes which may be designed to fit out such schemes which have been held in abeyance, but there is still altogether too much haphazard in the publication of source materials by our historical agencies. The essential features of the Illinois plan are the grouping of the material into broad classes, chronological for the early period and topical for the later, with each series left open for later additions; the organization of each volume or group of volumes within the series as a well-rounded unit; and, most important of all, the search for and inclusion of all pertinent material, wherever it may be found. Those in charge of historical activities in the other states of the valley, and especially in those states where the publication of source material is still practically a virgin field, should familiarize themselves with this plan, if they have not already done so, and consider its adoption, with such modifications as might be dictated

⁹ Platforms of Political Parties in Texas, edited by Ernest W. Winkler (University of Texas, Bulletin No. 53, — Austin, 1916).

¹⁰ Wisconsin Historical Society, Collections, vols. 26-28, edited by Milo M. Quaile (Madison, 1918-1920).

by local considerations and such improvements as they might be able to devise.

The opportunities for profitable co-operation are not, however, confined to the field of the publication of documents. The possibilities of co-operation in the search for and calendaring of source material are being illustrated by the work of the Conference of Historical Agencies in the Upper Mississippi Valley—an informal combination of historical institutions in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. For almost a decade these institutions have been co-operating in the search in the federal archives at Washington for material relating to their history, and as a result each has secured valuable calendars of documents relating to the history of its state and the surrounding region at a much lower cost than would have been involved if each institution had undertaken to do the work independently. Is it too optimistic to look forward to the formation in the near future of a number of such groups, varying in composition according to the content of the collections to be exploited? In some cases, as for example that of the missionary material already alluded to, all or nearly all the states of the valley are involved; and, when that is the situation, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association might possibly serve as the agency of co-operation.

The possibilities of co-operation through the exchange and adaptation of ideas are unlimited. When Iowa leads the way in the preparation and publication of monographic studies in the history of the state, let the other states profit by her example, although the situation in most of them probably makes it advisable that this field be cultivated in the main by the state university rather than by the historical society. When Illinois and Indiana establish historical surveys in their universities for the promotion of research work in the history of the state, let other states consider the feasibility of doing likewise. When Illinois, through her centennial commission, with the co-operation of the other agencies, produces the first comprehensive state history written by a group of professional historians,¹¹ and Minnesota, through her historical society, brings out an extensive history of the state written by one man who combines the

¹¹ *The Centennial History of Illinois*, edited by Clarence W. Alvord (in five vols. — Springfield, 1918-1920).

scholarship of the trained historian with many years of observation of the events with which he deals and of experience in some of them,¹² let the other states consider these two plans and their results and work out if feasible such adaptation of one or the other of them as may suit the local situation. When Wisconsin undertakes an intensive study of the fundamentals in settlement and development, let the other states follow the experiment closely and consider what lessons it may supply to them. When Missouri succeeds in greatly increasing the number of her citizens who are interested in her past and organizes branches of the state society in local communities,¹³ let the other states inquire into the methods by which these results are secured. Above all, when a state legislature is persuaded to make a notable increase in its appropriation for historical work or a wealthy citizen is induced to make a liberal contribution, let us gather in solemn conclave to celebrate the event and find out how it was accomplished. All of us believe that we are original, of course, and some of us may have an aversion to following in the footsteps of others, but there is ample opportunity for originality in the adaptation of ideas to the local situations, and we should remember that the greatest work of original thinkers has usually been builded upon the foundation of the ideas and achievements of others. When every state in the valley has accomplished as much in every field of historical endeavor as has already been accomplished in that field by any other state, then indeed will there be great cause for rejoicing.

Whatever theories we may accept as to the functions of history, it is difficult to see how we can avoid the conclusion that the effective performance of its functions depends, to a large extent, in a democracy at least, upon the number of people brought within the circle of its influence. If, as we are wont to believe, a knowledge of the past is necessary for an understanding of present conditions and tendencies, then, since it is obvious that an enlightened general public is desirable, that knowledge should be diffused as widely as possible. If the development of historical mindedness or the critical spirit is one of the ends in view, it is clear that the advantage to the community will cor-

¹² William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (to be completed in four vols., — vol 1, St. Paul, 1921).

¹³ Floyd C. Shoemaker, "Popularizing State History," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Proceedings, 1920-1921*, pp. 433-439.

respond somewhat to the proportion of its citizens who are affected. If cultural aims are considered,—the contribution of history to the fulness of individual life,—surely we should endeavor to make a knowledge of history available to all who are ready to accept it.

In any discussion of the value of history it is usually the development of mankind—world history—or at least national history that receives consideration. When we begin to think of carrying history to the people, however, we are confronted with the question of the relative value to them of different kinds of history, and a little thought will convince us that for the ordinary private citizen the history of his own state and that of his own local community are of at least equal importance with the broader phases of the subject. Surely an understanding of present conditions and tendencies in their own state or locality is for most people fully as important as an understanding of national and international affairs; and, if these affairs can be understood only through a knowledge of their origins and development, it is equally true that a state or a smaller community can be adequately interpreted only in the light of its history. That state and local history as well as national and world history has cultural value is also apparent when we consider how large a proportion of our contacts—the places we visit, the people we meet, the topics we discuss, the events we read about—are local in character and consequently call for a knowledge of local history for their fullest appreciation and enjoyment.

The principal medium for the dissemination of knowledge of state and local history has been and probably still is the publications of our state historical agencies. The documentary publications, which have been discussed in another connection, are as a rule of direct value only to special students; and with them accurate scholarship is the fundamental criterion; but the general histories, the monographic works, and especially the periodicals should be in such form that they will appeal to the general reader. This proposition has been widely accepted during the last few years—some of the publications of historical societies now compare favorably in appearance and in style with those of standard publishing firms, and most of the historical magazines make their appeal primarily to the man on the street

—but much state historical work still is badly written, carelessly edited, and crudely printed.

If these publications are to serve their purpose of carrying history to the people, obviously they must have a large circulation; distribution to a few hundred antiquarians and library exchanges is not sufficient. On the other hand, it is a waste of money to send them to large numbers of people who may have no interest in them and to libraries where they will be stowed away with "public documents." The solution is at hand, however, in the rapid increase in membership of the historical societies. There is scarcely an institution in the valley that has not doubled its membership in the last five years, and the indications are that the time is not far distant when membership in an historical society will no longer be evidence of queerness but rather the regular thing for everyone with intellectual interests. Still more people can be reached through distribution to schools and public libraries if the matter is properly handled. Experience has demonstrated that those in charge of such institutions value the publications more, take better care of them, and make more use of them if they have to pay a little something for them than if they receive them without cost. Some form of school and library membership or subscription appears, therefore, to be desirable.

Another method of reaching the people in large numbers, of interesting them in history, and of giving them some smatterings of useful or entertaining information is the publication of historical material in the newspapers. This, as a rule, has to be specially prepared for the purpose; and, if the preparation is left to the newspaper people, the results are sometimes startling; but there is unquestionably a great and growing demand for newspaper history on the part of both the editors and the readers. Several historical societies are now sending monthly press bulletins to most of the papers of the state; and the bits of history or news of historical activities, if they are skilfully written, are eagerly appropriated by a large proportion of the edi-

tors. Any historical society has in its possession, moreover, material for an unlimited number of feature stories for the Sunday papers or serial sketches for the dailies. It may seem to some of us beneath our dignity to have anything to do with the sort of history that appears in the Sunday papers, but we may console ourselves with the thought that the historical feature article has made a place for itself and would probably be much worse without our co-operation than with it.

Still another avenue of approach to the public is the right kind of historical meeting. The type of meeting at which a few old settlers gather to discuss their recollections of pioneer days and to pay tribute to the departed must give way to broader affairs with varied programs, including scholarly papers, popular addresses, discussions of historical work, and entertainment features, if the public is to be attracted. If such meetings are held in different parts of a state from year to year and are given adequate publicity, it will not be long before hundreds of people will come from all parts of the state to attend them. The American people have the convention habit and they like to ride around in their automobiles. As soon as they get accustomed to the idea, they will jump at the opportunity to join an historical tour of a state historical convention in a part of the state which, perhaps, they have never seen before.

Other methods of reaching the people and incidentally of giving publicity to the work of an institution are manifold. Lectures, individually or in series, talks to clubs and groups of various sorts, and even radio broadcasting are all worth while. The last of these has not been used for historical purposes as yet, so far as the writer knows, but one society has been asked by one of the principal broadcasting stations to supply twenty-minute talks on state history once a month and expects to start the service in a few weeks.

The subject of the teaching of state and local history in the schools is too big for adequate consideration in this address. It

may be noted, however, that the principal reasons why these topics are generally neglected throughout the valley are the lack of material in a form suitable for use by the pupils or the teachers and the lack of adequate plans for handling the subject. The workers in the field of state history can help to remedy this condition by compiling textbooks, readers, and especially syllabi with topical references to accessible material. If these syllabi embody plans for the co-ordination of state and local with national history, they will be more likely to be used than if they propose the introduction of a new course in the crowded curriculum. There would seem to be no valid reason, however, why our courses in American history should contain so much of the local history of New England and Virginia and so little of the history of our own states.

There is every indication that the present is a propitious time to strike for a great advance in historical interest and activities in the Mississippi valley. The increase in membership of our societies, and the increased use of our historical libraries—in one instance that use was five times as great in 1922 as it had been in 1919—are due not so much to the energy and enthusiasm of those in charge of state historical work as to the natural awakening and development in the people of an interest in and an appreciation of the value of history and especially of the history of their own states. Most of the states of the Mississippi valley have now reached the stage of comparative stability of their citizenry; and people with two or more generations of ancestors who shared in the development of their state naturally have a greater personal interest in its history than those whose family trail leads promptly back to an eastern state or to some foreign country. It may fairly be expected, therefore, that before many more years have elapsed interest in state history will be as keen and as widespread in the west as it has been for several generations in such older states, for example, as Massachusetts and Virginia. In part, also, this increased interest in history appears to be a result of the world war. That tremendous upheaval started multitudes of people on a search for the causes of present day events and conditions, and the re-

sulting appreciation of history in general is readily extended to include the history of their own communities.

In our list of the principal desiderate in the field of the Mississippi valley history, one which is fundamental to all the others was not mentioned. That is, of course, more adequate financial support for historical work. If source material is to be published more extensively, if the publications are to be given a wider distribution, if so many more people are to be served in our historical libraries, if all the other activities which have been suggested are to be undertaken or developed, obviously more funds must be available for the work. The writer is an optimist in this matter, however. The situation resolves itself into a circle, and not a vicious one either—perhaps a spiral would be a better figure. Increased activities result in increased interest, increased interest results in increased support, and increased support makes possible still greater activities. In the last analysis, the financing of historical work depends entirely upon the interest of the people, as manifested directly and individually in their contributions, and indirectly and collectively in the appropriations of the state legislatures. When the people are fully convinced of the value of history, the incomes from both these sources will materially increase, just as they have increased for the more formal educational work of the schools; and there is reason to believe that they can be supplemented with appropriations from counties and cities for local historical work. Perhaps the time will come when our universities will train men and women for positions as county historical agents, just as they now train county agricultural agents.

And while we are considering ways and means of financing historical work, let us not forget our own Mississippi Valley Historical Association. This association is now a going concern, with sixteen years of valuable service to its credit; its magazine is unquestionably the most important periodical devoted entirely to American history; and its various activities have served to stimulate the workers and to improve the quality, not only of research and publications, but also of the teaching of history, throughout the valley. Its possibilities of service are limited only by its funds, or rather, lack of funds. That it has been able

to accomplish so much has been due, in the main, to the sustained energy and enthusiasm of a few individuals. If all those who have the interest of history in the valley at heart will do all in their power to promote the association, its effectiveness will be increased manyfold in a very short time. Let us then, in the language of George F. Babbitt, "boost" the Mississippi Valley Historical Association; let us "tell the world" what it has done, is doing, and could do; let us "put over" a membership campaign that will "get somewhere"; let us build up an endowment fund that will enable the association to expand its activities. If we will do this, those of us who are working primarily in state history will find the path made easier in that field also, and all of us will find that we have increased our opportunities for effective work.

SOLON J. BUCK.

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

COMANCHE CIVILIZATION WITH HISTORY OF QUANAH PARKER.

The Comanche Indians are one of the many tribes found in America by the white man as he pushed his way into the interior of the continent. They were a nomadic people who first were associated with the main Shoshone stock, located in the Rocky Mountains near the head of the Missouri River. They became separated from their Shoshone kinsmen about three hundred years ago and emerged from that region to the broad plains west of the Mississippi River. Here they followed the migratory birds as the different seasons approached, going south for the winter to escape the severe cold and snow, and back north in the spring to escape the heat of the summer and to camp where there were extensive stretches of green pastures. These pastures furnished food for the herds of buffaloes which were the main source of food and clothing for the tribes of the plains. In their migrations the tribes usually came in contact with other tribes of the plains, and there was almost perpetual warfare for the disputed territory. In these wars, as in the later wars with the whites, the scalp of the enemy was the greatest trophy that could be obtained, and an Indian's valor as a warrior was largely determined by the number of scalps in his possession.

The first whites of which the Indians heard were the Spaniards. The news of the various Spanish expeditions reached even the fastness of their early Rocky Mountain home. At the beginning they regarded them as gods, and little did they dream that these whites were the forerunners of vast numbers of similar people who would wage an almost relentless warfare for the extermination of the red man.

Ethnologists have classified all American Indian tribes according to language stock. The Comanches being of the Shoshone stock, were in earlier days closely allied with the Snake Indians in the north. About 130 years ago they became friendly with the Kiowas and Plains Apaches. As the coasts of America were being more thickly settled, the white race began to push

toward the interior, and it was at this time that the hostile relations between the white and red man began. So, instead of the inter-tribal wars, many of the Indian tribes united to fight a common foe and to attempt to roll back the tide that threatened their hunting grounds and their very existence. Before their subjugation, the Comanches frequently raided the pioneer American settlements, and the frontiersmen never were sure of life or property. Federal troops under different commanders began to hunt the Indian down, but in the skirmishes the Indians never offered battle in the open, but always from ambush unless the white enemy could be taken by surprise.

The defeat of a band of Comanches, under Chief Peta Nocona, by a company of Texas Rangers, under Captain L. S. Ross, marked the first step toward the conquering of the tribe. In this battle the chief was killed; his wife, Cynthia Ann Parker, a white woman who had been captured by the Comanches when but nine years old, was recaptured by the whites after a captivity of twenty-four years. Cynthia Ann Parker had been taken into the tribe and had become so accustomed to Indian ways that, when taken back to her white relatives, she pined away and died, broken-hearted, in 1870, away from the red people she had come to love so well. At the time of her recapture by the Texas Rangers, a small daughter called Prairie Flower was also captured, but died soon after. Her two sons escaped, one of these died a year or two later, but the remaining one, Quanah, survived. At the age of about eleven or twelve his father died and the chieftainship of the band, which otherwise might have been inherited by him, was seized by other hands. Later, Quanah gained the rank of chief through sheer force of character, courage and ability, and eventually, when the various bands of the Comanches were merged into one tribe, he became recognized as principal chief of the entire tribe and also a trusted counselor of several other western tribes, including the Kiowas and Apaches, who were closely affiliated with his own people.

After the loss of his mother, his sister and the death of his brother, Quanah remained sullen and wished to avenge the wrong. No longer a youth, he became a war-chief in his young manhood. He led his braves on many expeditions against the whites, but gradually the iron band of the white man closed in on the freedom of the tribe and it was difficult for the spirit

of revenge to find expression. In the spring of 1874, most of the Comanches, Cheyennes and a part of the Kiowas smoked the war pipe together, the Arapahoes refusing to join them. Their hostilities consisted of raiding ranches and running off stock. Quanah's last battle came at a trading post called Adobe Walls, on the South Canadian, about sixty miles west of the Oklahoma boundary line, on June 25, 1874. A party of buffalo hunters had taken refuge there and a band of 700 Comanches and Kiowas, under the leadership of Quanah, repeatedly charged them, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and finally retired in defeat, Quanah himself being badly wounded. One by one the Indian tribes surrendered, but Quanah with his men held out. A post at Fort Sill had been constructed several years before, and was garrisoned by troops of the United States Army to watch the movements of the Indians. To this fort Quanah began his march to surrender when no alternative was left. The flag of truce was waved and the Comanches under Quanah surrendered to Colonel R. S. McKenzie, at Fort Sill, the last Indians of the southern plains to make peace with the whites.

However, even after making a treaty, Quanah was much opposed to the white man's ways, and kept his tribe from adopting civilization and the Christian religion. The plains Indians were restricted to reservations. Quanah and a part of his tribe once left the reservation without permission, which had been refused, and went out to the Texas Panhandle country to spend the winter in Palo Duro canyon. When spring came, a detachment of troops were sent out to find Quanah and bring him in. The troops arrived at the brink of the canyon just as Quanah's party came up from below to start back to the reservation, and a fight started before Quanah knew of the presence of the troops. He immediately galloped out between his own people and the troops and explained that they were not at war.

By the treaty of Medicine Lodge, in 1867, the Comanches and Kiowas were assigned to the reservation which now comprises Comanche, Cotton, Kiowa and Tillman counties and parts of Grady, Stephens, Jefferson and Caddo counties. After their subjugation, the Comanches stayed on this reservation until it was opened for settlement, in 1901, when each Indian was given an allotment of 160 acres. Quanah was allotted a tract of land four miles northwest from Cache, Oklahoma. Here a home had

been built for him by S. E. Burnett, the wealthy Texas cattleman and banker, and other cattlemen. The lumber for this house was hauled from Vernon, Texas. It consisted of twenty-two rooms. Rooms for each one of his wives were furnished identically alike, so neither of his wives could complain of partiality on this score. During his lifetime, Quanah recognized seven different wives, but he never had more than five at one time. Whenever Quanah Parker (for he added the name Parker to Quanah when, shortly after his surrender, he had gone to Texas to visit the relatives and grave of his mother) went to town or made trips on special occasions, he used a large stagecoach drawn by four mules, often taking all of his wives along and some of the children. At fairs and celebrations this stagecoach, with all the pomp and pride of its owner, was frequently seen.

In 1892, when the Comanches and Kiwoas agreed to accept allotments, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs approached Quanah in regard to the number of wives he would be allowed to keep. Their conversation was substantially as follows: "Quanah, you have agreed to take allotments and sell your surplus lands and let them be settled by white people. When the white people come to be your neighbors it will be the white man's law and the white man's law says one wife. You have too many wives. You will have to decide which one you want to keep and tell the rest of them to go somewhere else to live." Quanah listened attentively and looked at the commissioner with a very fixed gaze for some moments, and then startled that worthy by saying, "You tell um!" Then he waited several moments until the significance of this had dawned on the commissioner's mind, when he added: "You tell me which wife I love most—you tell me which wife love me most—you tell me which wife cry most when I send her 'way—then I pick um." The commissioner replied, "Oh, let's talk about something else." The significance of this was that the chief loved his wives all alike, but if the Government would tell him which one he would be happiest with he would abide by the decision. This responsibility the Government, through the Indian Department, never assumed, but after statehood, when Quanah wanted to take another woman (to whom he had taken a fancy) for a wife, the Indian agent at Anadarko warned him not to take any more. In time Parker quarreled with one wife and then another and

"threw them away," to use the Indian phrase for divorce, until at the time of his death he had but two left.

Quanah Parker was a born politician and orator, could speak English, but not read. He took many papers and had them read to him. Many times he went to Washington, D. C., in the interest of his tribe and on one such trip, succeeded in having passed a congressional appropriation of \$1,000.00 which was to be used to exhume the body of his mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, from a Texas cemetery and brought to Post Oak Mission, near Indianahoma, Oklahoma, where many of his fellow tribesmen lie buried. This appropriation also included a large granite monument and high iron fence. Parker himself selected the burial lot for his mother and where he too was to be buried at her side, at his death. This lot is set a little apart from the rest of the cemetery on an elevation which can be seen for miles. When his mother's remains were re-buried at this place on December 4, 1910, Parker gave a great feast, inviting both whites and Indians. The address which he gave shows his change of attitude since his last surrender, a change from hostility to white men to that of friendliness and adoption. He spoke in English as follows:

"Forty years ago my mother died. She captured by Comanche, nine years old. Love Indian and wild life so well no want to go back to white folks. All same people any way, God say. I love my mother. I like white people. Got great heart. I want my people follow after white way, get educate, know work, make living when payments stop. I tell um they got to know pick cotton, plow corn. I want um know white man's God. Comanche may die tomorrow, or ten years. When end come then they all be together again. I want to see my mother again. That's why when Government United States give money for new grave I have this funeral and ask white folks to help bury. Glad to see so many my people here at funeral. That's all."

Shortly after the funeral the great granite monument was erected and the iron fence placed around the lots. On February 11, 1911, word was sent by telephone that the great chief had taken sick among the Cheyenne Indians, where a great medicine feast had been under way, and that he was returning by train

to his home. Arriving at Cache, he was taken to his ranch, four miles distant. At his home he was helped to a couch. Tau-pay, one of his wives, asked him if he had any objection to a white doctor, to which he replied, "No, it's good. I'm ready." The Indian women seemed to know that death was near and soon motioned the white doctor away, and as a last resort had one of the Indian medicine men minister to him. The chief asked the medicine man to pray to God, and he began, "Father in heaven, this our brother is coming." Then placing his arms about the chief's body, he flapped his hands and imitated the call of the great eagle, the messenger of the Great Father. Water was given the chief, and he died just twenty minutes after his arrival. The wailing of the women was taken up by others, and soon the message of his death was carried by messengers and telephone.

His death and funeral attracted attention all over the United States and almost 2,000 whites and Indians gathered at the mission, coming in every imaginable conveyance, making a funeral cortege of almost two miles. The services were in charge of Rev. A. J. Becker of Post Oak Mission and Rev. E. C. Deyo of the Deyo Mission, near Lawton. The body of the dead chief was decked in the regalia of a Comanche warrior, a suit of buckskin, gold band rings on every finger, a sparkling brooch pin, a silver dollar over each eye, and it was rumored that many other valuables, even a large sum of money, was buried with him.

A watch was kept over the grave for almost a week, but it was not until four years after his death that ghouls entered the grave and robbed it of many of its valuables. One Sunday, one of the chief's wives came to mourn over the grave, when she saw the partially filled grave with bits of the casket and bones lying here and there, she fainted away. Other Indians hurried toward her, found what was wrong and spread the news rapidly. The tribe was much aroused with indignation that, even in death, their beloved chief could not rest undisturbed. An all-night vigil was kept over the grave after the discovery of the desecration of the grave. The following day his remains were picked up one by one by the men and passed to some Indian women, who washed the bones in a tub of water and in turn passed them to others, who dried them with their costly blankets and reverently placed the remains in a new casket. Once more

the funeral orations, the sobbing and the peculiar cry of the Indians was heard as it was placed in the same grave, thus enacting again the event of four years before.

After his death the Government denied the Comanche Indians the right of another chief, and instead they now are represented by a tribal committee of three, which looks after the interests of the tribe. Until the time of his mother's re-burial, Quanah kept his tribe from becoming civilized and adopting the Christian religion. However, since his advice to the tribe at that funeral, they have made more rapid strides in adopting the white man's ways and joining mission churches to the extent that now practically one-third of the tribe are members of churches.

Leaving the history of the last chief of the Comanches, let us see over what kind of a civilization he presided. The Comanches at an early time had formed a tribal government with a chief at its head who held office for life unless disqualified by some act which put him in disrepute with his fellow tribesmen. In case of death, the oldest son always succeeded to his place, though only after he had proven his fitness as a warrior and leader. There seldom was any danger of there being no heir, for the chief usually had several wives and many children with each. The power of the chief was limited; he had no power over the life of any member of the tribe. But in all administrative affairs, in warfare, and in case of dispute between factions in the tribe his authority was supreme and never questioned.

Under the chief was a Council of Braves or Warriors, composed of all the oldest men of the tribe who had shown extra ability as warriors, leaders or guides. The chief was chairman of this assembly which could be convened at any time. All matters of importance such as declaring war, making peace, disposition of spoils and movements of camp from place to place were under the jurisdiction of this body.

There was no need for law, all action was taken according to precedent and custom in which each tribesman was well versed. Their home life was simple before being affected by American civilization. The husband was head of the house, his only duties were to fight and to provide the food by killing wild game. It was the wife's hard lot to do all the other work. Chil-

dren received little or no education until about twelve years of age. At this age the girl began to help her mother and learned to do all the things which would make her a desirable wife. The boy would accompany his father on hunting expeditions, learn to track game, and to use the bow and arrow. A Comanche youth would not get married until he had made a name for himself as a warrior and not until he had ponies enough to present to the father of the bride. There was little or no wooing, the youth would merely pick the girl who seemed most desirable and if she recognized some little favor bestowed on her, he was encouraged to go and present so many ponies to her father; if these were accepted, then the ceremony was over.

In case of death, the whole tribe joined in mourning, loudly lamenting the departure of a kinsman. The relatives, on beginning to cry, would be joined by the others, and when the relatives ceased their wailing, it was a sign for the others to do likewise, the relatives sometimes drying the tears of the others, and telling them that they now feel better. The nearest women relatives, in earlier days, would cut off their hair as a sign of mourning and cut gashes in their arms and beat their heads with stones in order to prolong the grief and make themselves cry, even after being exhausted. All the deceased's belongings were placed in the grave or destroyed, no remembrance or relic being retained to recall the memory of the departed.

Chief among their ancient customs is the war dance, one of the most degrading practices and largely the cause of more or less immorality in the tribe today. This dance is carried on in different ways or steps, so to speak. Sometimes two ranks face one another, chanting, yelling and hopping up and down to the music of a drum; sometimes in a large circle facing the center where the drummer carries on his weird music; and sometimes in a compact mass crowding to the center around the drummer and slowly "milling" around to the right as a great whirlpool, but instead of flying off at a tangent they crowd still closer to the center. Here they yell and chant their songs; men and women in one group while the young men and girls are in another group until their minds are in the highest state of excitement. For all this ceremony they are gaudily dressed, ornamented with paint, coins, elk teeth, bells and other trinkets and also wear their war dresses, trimmed with colored eagle

feathers. This practice is indulged in to celebrate any notable event or happening, in earlier times more often to celebrate some victory over an enemy. Often this celebration lasts several days and nights.

The primitive Comanche had a religion which taught him to believe in a Great Spirit, or a Great Father, who had his place of abode in a region called the Happy Hunting Ground. In opposition to the Great Spirit were the Evil Spirits, who were the cause of all sickness, death, famine and other calamities. Death to them was not so great a calamity as to the ancient Greeks, who had no hope for a happy future life, for the Comanches believed in a beautiful place where all go at death, where there is eternal happiness and ideal hunting and living conditions.

Their religion and treatment of the sick goes hand in hand, in fact, the magic or quack treatment by the medicine man is a form of procedure and rites which embodies their whole religion. The Great Spirit is invoked by the medicine man or priest to drive out the evil spirits. Peyote, a drug in the form of a mescal bean, is administered to the patient and also partaken of by all those gathered in the medicine teepee temple, some Indians eating as many as thirty of these beans. The evil effects of this drug cannot be questioned, although there is much propaganda to allow the Indians to retain this drug, which is obtained in old Mexico. Only in the last Congress a bill was passed appropriating money to stop this traffic among the Indian tribes.

The medicine man, to the Indians, is the only one to administer to a patient in case of sickness. Peyote is the only religion and the only way in which the Great Spirit can manifest himself to them, and the dance their only expression of jubilee. To break away from these they believe will bring upon them a great calamity. The older leaders therefore tried to strengthen the position of this pagan religion against the invasion of the Christian religion. But they waged a losing fight for their religion had no legal protection as a religion, until a representative of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, for reasons not yet clear, started active propaganda among the various tribes to arouse a new enthusiasm in peyote and the Indian dance. Meetings were held everywhere and during this time the dance and the medicine teepee were revived and all the vices attending

camp life were indulged in. The result of all this agitation was that a charter was applied for to put this pagan worship on a legal basis and on a par with other religions. The charter was granted by Secretary of State J. L. Lyon, of Oklahoma, on October 10, 1918, to ten Indians representing five different tribes, the Comanches being one of them.- The charter provides for the establishment of a native American church, "to establish a self-respect and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of the peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians." The clause permitting the practice of the peyote sacrament as commonly understood, permits almost any interpretation and each tribe can follow the practice of eating peyote with all the attendant degrading influences and indulge in all the vices connected with the practice. This gives a flexibility which permits, under shadow of lawful right, any whim or passion to dictate the Native American Church and still be called legitimate Christian religion. Membership includes nearly all those who do not belong to American missions or churches. The harm of reviving the pagan practice became so apparent that the United States Government sent officers out to investigate and ordered white agitators from the reservation.

The United States treaty with the Comanches provides that the Indians were to be wards of the Government for a period of twenty-five years. This restriction will expire in four more years and the Comanches will then have taken up the full duties of American citizens instead of wards of Uncle Sam, unless the restrictions are extended by Congressional action.

PASSING PIONEERS.

Since the last issue of Oklahoma Chronicles a number of Oklahoma pioneers have passed away. Among the more prominent of these might be mentioned the following: Ex-Governor Wm. C. Renfrow, who died January 31, 1922; Ex-Governor George W. Steele, who died July 12, 1922; Chief Justice John H. Burford of the Territorial Supreme Court, who died September 2, 1922; Justice Cornelius H. Elting of the State Supreme Court, who died September 3, 1922; Mr. Anton H. Classen, who died December 31, 1922; Chief Justice John H. Pitchford of the State Supreme Court, who died March 2, 1923; Judge Clinton A. Galbraith, who was attorney-general of the Territory during General Renfrow's administration and who died May 10, 1923; Hon. Henry E. Asp, who died July 4, 1923.

George W. Steele was the first governor of Oklahoma Territory, taking his position at the organization of the Territorial government in May, 1890, and serving until October, 1891. He was born in Indiana in 1839, was admitted to the bar in 1861, entering the volunteer military service shortly afterward, passing through all the grades from first lieutenant to lieutenant-colonel. From 1866 until 1876 he served as an officer in the regular army. He served four terms in Congress from Indiana before being appointed to the governorship of Oklahoma, from 1881 to 1889, and after his return to Indiana, was re-elected to Congress four more terms, serving from 1895 to 1903 and subsequently for some years was governor of the National Soldiers' Home in his native state.

William C. Renfrow was the third governor of Oklahoma Territory, having been appointed by President Cleveland in 1893 and served a full term of four years. He was born in North Carolina in 1845 and served as a soldier in the Confederate Army during his youth. He settled in Arkansas in 1865 and came

thence to Oklahoma, settling at Norman in 1889, where he engaged in the banking business. Subsequent to his retirement from office he was largely interested in the lead and zinc mining business in southwestern Missouri.

Judge John H. Burford was born in Indiana in 1852. He was educated at Waveland Collegiate Institute and graduated from the law school of Indiana University in 1874. He served as prosecuting attorney of the Circuit Court of his native state. In 1890 he was appointed register of the United States Land Office at Oklahoma City, and two years later was appointed justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory, serving from 1892 to 1896. In 1898 he was appointed chief justice of the Territorial Supreme Court, which position he held until the advent of statehood in 1907. He was a member of the Oklahoma Senate, 1913 to 1917, and was the Republican nominee for United States Senate in 1914. He served as president of the State Bar Association in 1912 and 1913. Judge Burford's experience as a pioneer jurist in western Oklahoma, when conditions were still "wild and wooly," were interesting and at times exciting, but his uniform tact and good nature helped him to win his way with men who had had but little to do with courts prior to that time. Judge Burford was an active member of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Cornelius H. Elting was born in Missouri in 1866. When he was thirteen years old his parents moved to western Kansas and most of his education was secured from the schools in that state. He graduated in the law school of the University of Kansas in 1894. In 1899 he located at Durant, Indian Territory, where he engaged in the practice of his profession and where he afterward made his home. In 1920 he was nominated for justice of the Supreme Court on the Republican ticket and was elected in the general election that year. He was a man of retiring disposition but sterling character.

Anton H. Classen was born in Illinois in 1861, and was educated in the public schools of that state. He graduated from

the law school of the University of Michigan in 1887, and came into Oklahoma at the first opening in 1889, settling at Edmond, where he engaged in the practice of his profession, and later in the publication of the Edmond Sun. He early became interested in the real estate business in and around Edmond. In 1897 he was appointed receiver of the United States Land Office at Oklahoma City, and with his removal to Oklahoma City he began to take an active interest in the development of the state's future capital. At the end of his term as receiver of the land office he was appointed register, but he resigned shortly afterward to devote his entire attention to business. He laid out a number of additions to the city, parking and planting trees and otherwise improving them before putting them on the market, and was the pioneer street railway builder of the State. He took an active but unassuming part in nearly every movement which had for its object the upbuilding and development of the community. He was for many years an active member and director in the Oklahoma Historical Society, and was serving as its senior vice-president at the time of his death. The full story of his life would be the story of the development of Oklahoma City from a pioneer town of 4,000 inhabitants to a city of 125,000.

John H. Pitchford was born in South Carolina in 1857. His education was received in the schools of that state, where he was admitted to the bar in 1878. He practiced law at Clayton, South Carolina, and Gainesville, Georgia, for a number of years, moving to Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1890, and to Tahlequah, Oklahoma, in 1896. He was elected district judge in 1907, taking up his official duties when the State was admitted to the Union, and served continuously in that position until after his election as justice of the Supreme Court of the State in 1918. Judge Pitchford's experience as a pioneer jurist in the hill counties of the old Cherokee Nation was full of interest, and being a keen observer and having a well developed sense of humor, he was accounted a wonderful story teller as well as an able jurist.

Clinton A. Galbraith was born in Indiana in 1860, graduated

at Hartsfield in 1883 and attended the law school of the University of Michigan. He was admitted to the bar in 1888. He served as attorney general of Oklahoma, 1893 to 1897. In 1893 he located at Hilo in the Hawaiian Islands. Four years later he was appointed as associate justice of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Territory. At the expiration of his term of office in 1904 he returned to Oklahoma, settling at Ada. He was serving as assistant attorney general of the State at the time of his death.

Henry E. Asp was born in Illinois in 1856 and left an orphan in early life. The family with whom he made his home settled in Cowley County, Kansas, during his youth. He was admitted to the bar at Winfield, Kansas, in 1878, and he engaged in the practice of his profession at that place until his removal to Guthrie, after the organization of the Territory in 1890. Mr. Asp became general attorney of the Santa Fe Railway system for Oklahoma Territory, in which position he was not only active and efficient but very much in the public eye. He took an active part in politics, was in Washington just before and at the time of the passage and approval of the enabling act under which the people of Oklahoma and Indian Territory were authorized to form a constitution and apply for admission to the Union as a State. Always loyal to his home town, he was generally credited with the insertion of the clause in the enabling act which provided that the capital of the state should be located at Guthrie until 1913. His constitutional convention district nominated him as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. The fact that he was regarded as a leading corporation lawyer of Oklahoma was largely capitalized by the opposition, in not only Logan County, but through both territories as well, and while it was due to no fault of his that this fact had a very large influence in the landslide which resulted in the election of 100 Democratic delegates out of 112 in the Convention. During the Constitutional Convention, Mr. Asp was one of the most prominent figures in its deliberations, though always in the hopeless minority. After the removal of the capital from Guthrie to Oklahoma City, Mr. Asp

severed his relations with the legal department of the Santa Fe Railway Company and removed to Oklahoma City, where he engaged in private practice. Although his policies as an attorney were frequently subject to criticism, his keen interest in the life about him and his magnetic personality were such that his friends were legion. He had much to do with the building and development of all of the lines of the Santa Fe System in Oklahoma, and he will be remembered as one of the State's most active and efficient pioneers.

James Mooney, ethnologist, died at his home in Washington, D. C., December 22, 1921. He was born at Richmond, Indiana, in 1861, of Irish parentage. He was educated in the public schools and followed newspaper writing for several years. Having begun a systematic study of the life, customs and culture of various tribes of American Indians in his youth, he continued it as a young man, and in 1885 he became an active member of the staff of the Bureau of American Ethnology. His work as an ethnologist was principally among the tribes of the Southeast and those of the Southern Plains. He did a great deal of careful, painstaking research and investigation in the field, much of the results of which have been issued in monograph form by the National Museum. Directly or indirectly, most of these have concerned various tribes in Oklahoma, including especially the Cherokee and the Kiowa. He was charged with the preparation of the instructive Indian exhibits of the Government at the Chicago World's Fair, the Nashville and Omaha Expositions and the World's Fair at St. Louis. Among his best known publications are: "Myths of the Cherokee," "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," "The Messiah Religion and the Ghost Dance," "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokee" and "Siouan Tribes of the East." Mild and gentle in his demeanor, the soul of honor and truthfulness in his association with the Indians, he never failed to merit their confidence and to gain and hold their lasting friendship. His interest in pursuing his investigations to the point of thoroughness sometimes brought down the wrath of Indian Service officials upon his head, and more than once he was called in

from the field at their behest, his devotion and zeal not always being appreciated as fully as they should have been by some of his official superiors. This was especially true in the case of his peyote investigations, which he was not permitted to complete. He was fearless in his advocacy of what he believed to be right and in his denunciation of what he knew to be wrong. The Indians never had a truer friend or a more devoted champion, and many of them in Oklahoma have mourned his untimely passing.

REMINISCENCES OF THE WASHITA CAMPAIGN AND OF THE DARLINGTON INDIAN AGENCY.

By JOHN MURPHY¹

When I left Louisville, Kentucky, with my father, after he had been honorably discharged from the Federal Army, in the

1 John Murphy was born of Irish parentage in New York City, May 2, 1849. The family moved to Baltimore during his infancy and, several years later, to Richmond, Virginia, where most of his childhood and early youth were spent. In the autumn of 1860, his father, who was a stone mason, found business dull and went to Atchison, Kansas, where his cousin, Thomas Murphy (who served as superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Central Superintendency, i. e., the tribes of the Southern Plains, during the Andrew Johnson administration) was living. Before the time came for him to return, the war broke out and the elder Murphy enlisted in the 18th Missouri Volunteer Infantry, at Weston, Mo. This regiment, which was assigned to the 17th Army Corps, saw almost continuous service in the western army and later on with Sherman on the Atlanta Campaign. In the summer of 1863, John Murphy, then just a few weeks past the age of fourteen, enlisted in White's Battalion, which was eventually incorporated in the 23d Virginia Cavalry and was included in Imboden's Brigade of the Confederate Army. With this command young Murphy saw active service in the Army of Northern Virginia and with the Confederate forces which operated in the Shenandoah Valley under the command of Generals Breckenridge, Early and others during the spring, summer and autumn of 1864. Quick-witted and active, he was frequently selected for special duty as a dispatch rider or courier. The end of the War found him still a boy, not yet sixteen years old. When Sherman's army arrived on the James River from the south, young Murphy's father, who had been absent from home for more than four years, obtained a leave of absence and went into Richmond to seek his family. When he returned to his command, his son, John, accompanied him. Remaining with his father's company, John Murphy marched with it to Washington, where he participated in the march down Pennsylvania Avenue on the grand review which marked the close of the great conflict. His father was finally mustered out of the service at Louisville, Kentucky, after having served continuously for four and one-half years. He then set out for the west again, John accompanying him. Their first stop was at St. Louis.

Arriving at Weston, young Murphy began work as a blacksmith's apprentice. After continuing in that work for a year and a half, he entered the military transportation service as a civilian teamster at Fort Harker, Kansas. During the ensuing year he was engaged most of the time in freighting from Fort Harker to Forts Larned and Dodge. In the summer of 1868 he was assigned to the post train at Fort Hays. Late in the following autumn, his train was attached to the Washita Expedition. In the spring of 1869, he entered the service of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency, with which he remained for nearly seventeen years. He subsequently conducted a hotel and a blacksmith shop at Darlington. After Oklahoma was opened to settlement, he settled at El Reno, which has since been his home. In 1879, Mr. Murphy was married to Miss Josephine Wiesler, at Darlington. Her parents were employed in the Indian service and she entered the service at Darlington in a subordinate capacity, and worked up to a position as a teacher and, at one time, was acting superintendent of the Agency School. Mrs. Murphy died at El Reno, in March, 1918. John Murphy died at Jenks, Okla., October —, 1919. The accompanying reminiscences were dictated by him in December, 1918.

latter part of 1865, we started to go by steamboat to Atchison, Kansas. Our first stop on the way was at St. Louis. While we were there General William T. Sherman arrived in the city for a brief visit. A public reception was tendered to him at the Lindel Hotel. I went with my father to attend the reception, my father still wearing his uniform as a private soldier. When we appeared in the line of callers, General Sherman instantly recognized my father and, grasping him by the hand and pulled him out of the line, saying, "Paddy, God bless your old soul, come in here and take a seat." I was introduced to the General who greeted me most cordially.²

Leaving St. Louis, our next stop was at Weston, Missouri, from which place my father had enlisted in the Union Army. There I found work as a blacksmith's apprentice. After working in the blacksmith shop for a year and a half, I entered the military transportation as a civilian teamster with an army wagon train at Fort Harker, Kansas, in August, 1867. Major Henry Inman³ was post quartermaster at Fort Harker. During a large part of the ensuing twelve months the train to which I had been assigned in freighting military supplies from Fort Harker to Forts Larned and Dodge.

While we were freighting from Fort Harker times were

2 Although he was only a private soldier, Patrick Murphy had so distinguished himself at the battle of Shiloh that he had attracted the attention of General Sherman, who never forgot him.

3 Henry Inman was born in New York City, July 3, 1837. He was of English, French Huguenot and Knickerbocker Dutch ancestry. His father, Henry Inman, was one of the most noted portrait painters of his day and, when he died in 1846, the members of the Academy of Design raised a fund by subscription with which a small farm was purchased near Hemsted, Long Island, and presented to his family. Henry Inman's education was obtained in private schools and under the instruction of private tutors. At the age of twenty he enlisted in the United States Army and saw much active service in the campaigns against hostile Indians in the Pacific Coast region during the four years immediately preceding the outbreak of the Civil War. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 17th U. S. Infantry, May 14, 1861, and was promoted to first lieutenant, October 24, 1861. March 4, 1864, he was commissioned captain and assistant quartermaster. Not careful in his business methods, his disbursing accounts became hopelessly entangled and he was cashiered from the army, July 24, 1872, though it was never believed that he had been guilty of any moral obliquity in the matter. Thereafter he engaged in the newspaper business at Larned, Kansas, and elsewhere in that state. The town of Inman, in McPherson County, Kansas, was named for him. In his later years his talents were largely given over to the writing of books and stories of the Great Plains, the poetic spell of which held him fascinated. Too careless in his literary methods to be regarded as an authority on the history of the Plains, he nevertheless to be regarded as one of the best interpreters of life on the Plains as it was before the building of the railways. He was the author of "The Old Santa Fe Trail" (1895), "The Story of a Great Highway" (1898), "The Great Salt Lake Trail" (1899) and several other books. Colonel Inman died at Topeka, Kansas, November 13, 1899.

rather quiet on the Plains and, as a rule, our trains traveled without escort. Our route was by way of Fort Zarah to Fort Larned. At Fort Zarah I met William Matthewson—the original “Buffalo Bill”—who had a ranch and trading station a short distance below that post. In driving from fort to fort we frequently passed through great herds of buffalo; indeed, these herds were sometimes so large that it was impossible to even estimate their numbers.

In the summer of 1868, I was assigned to the post train at Fort Hays. This train was organized and equipped at Fort Harker and proceeded to Fort Hays, of which post Maj. George Gibson⁴, 1st U. S. Infantry, was in command. The equipment of this new post train, which consisted of fifteen wagons, with six mules to each team, was brand new—new wagons, new harness and big, well fed mules. Naturally, we were proud of the outfit. Our surprise and chagrin can be imagined, when we arrived at Fort Hays and reported to the post quartermaster, Capt. and Brevet Maj. Amos S. Kimball,⁵ to be ordered to turn the new wagons and harness and big mules to another train, and to take old wagons and harness and little, scrawny Mexican mules instead. We went on a strike right there and then, utterly refusing to work until our own outfit of wagons, harness and teams were returned to us. The post quartermaster ordered us under arrest and we were confined in the guard house. The next morning we were asked if we were ready to return to work, but all refused unless permitted to resume the use of our own outfit. This was continued each day for four or five days. Finally we secured permission to interview the post commander, Major

⁴ George Gibson was a native of Pennsylvania. He entered the army as a military store keeper in the quartermaster's department in April, 1853. He was commissioned as a captain of the 11th U. S. Infantry in May, 1861; promoted to major of the 1st Infantry in January, 1863; to lieutenant colonel of the 3d Infantry in March, 1879, and to colonel of the 5th Infantry in August, 1886. He was brevetted as major and lieutenant colonel for gallant and meritorious services during the Civil War. He died August 5, 1888. He was a son of Gen. George Gibson, commissary general of subsistence, for whom Fort Gibson, the first military post established in Oklahoma, was named.

⁵ Amos Samuel Kimball, a native of New York, entered the voluntary military service as 1st lieutenant of the 98th New York Infantry, in November, 1861. He was commissioned as a captain and assistant quartermaster of volunteers, in April, 1864, and served in that capacity until December, 1866. He was commissioned as captain and assistant quartermaster in the U. S. Army, in November, 1866; was promoted to major and quartermaster, in October, 1883; to lieutenant colonel and deputy quartermaster general, in December, 1894; to colonel and assistant quartermaster general, November, 1898; to October 1, 1902, and was placed on the retired list October 2, 1902. He was brevetted major of volunteers for faithful and meritorious services in the quartermaster's department during the Civil War.

Gibson. He asked why we were unwilling to work. We replied that we were perfectly willing to work. He then asked what the trouble was. We told him that our own teams and wagons had been taken away from us and an old outfit issued to us instead, while our outfit had been reissued to the men who had formerly used the old outfit which was thus palmed off on us—that we had been forced to trade against our will. He suddenly evinced a lively interest in the situation and said:

“I must see about that. Come with me.” And, so saying, he led the way to the office of the post quartermaster. Addressing that officer by his brevet title, he said: “Major, these men tell me that they are ready and willing to work; why do you keep them in the guard house?”

The quartermaster explained that he had caused us to exchange teams, harness and wagons with the men of another train, who had been at the post longer than we had, whereupon Major Gibson said he did not blame us for refusing to work and concluded the interview by ordering the quartermaster to return our outfit to us, which was done. We were made to feel the weight Captain Kimball’s displeasure, however, for he saw to it that we were kept constantly on the road between Fort Hays and Fort Dodge. As the distance between the two posts was nearly 100 miles, it required about three days to make the trip each way. We were allowed no rest at the Fort Hays end of the trip.

One Saturday evening, just after we had arrived from Fort Dodge, a telegram was received from the department commander, General Sheridan, ordering that all transportation be turned out for inspection Sunday morning. Needless to say, the men of our train were soon busied in oiling and blackening the harness of their respective teams. The next morning, property was laid out for inspection in front of the line of wagons and the mules were led out for inspection also. General Sheridan approached our train first and, as I was the driver of the “lead team,” mine was the first in the line. Pausing, he asked how many wagons there were in our train, to which I replied: “Fifteen, General.” Turning to Captain Kimball, the quartermaster, he said:

“You may assign this train to duty as my headquarters train; and you may dismiss the inspection.” And so we were chosen

to go with General Sheridan's headquarters on the Washita campaign, which was just then being organized.

Our wagons were loaded and we moved over to Fort Dodge again. There we unloaded and loaded up again with different stores, after which we proceeded southward toward the site of the proposed new camp at the junction of Beaver and Wolf creeks, where we arrived about the first of December. General Custer's 7th Cavalry had returned from its successful raid against the Cheyenne village of Black Kettle, on the Washita, only two days before. Several weeks were spent in reorganizing the expedition at the new post, which was named Camp Supply, after which preparations were made to move the main body of the command over to the valley of the Washita at the scene of the Black Kettle fight and thence down the valley to Fort Cobb. The morning we were to leave Camp Supply, I was directed to load up General Sheridan's mess outfit in my wagon. I had done so and then went over to one of the large camp fires to get warm, for the weather was extremely cold. There was a crowd around the fire, so I had to take the smoky side of the circle. General Sheridan saw me standing there and asked, "What are you going to load up with?" to which I responded, "I am to take your mess outfit, General." The General evidently was not pleased, for he asked where the wagon master was. I pointed to the latter, who was standing near by. The General then spoke to him, saying, "Joe (his name was Joseph Perkins) you have selected a boy to drive my mess wagon. I would prefer an older and more experienced man." To this Perkins replied, "All right, General, I can give you an older man, but I can't give you a better teamster. That boy is the lead driver in my train. He has always driven my mess wagon and I assigned him to drive yours for the reason that he is the best I have." The general seemed satisfied with this explanation, merely saying, "That is all right, then."

He then came over to me and asked, "What is your name?" I answered, "John Murphy, sir." With a twinkle in his eye, he then said, "You are a Frenchman?" to which I responded, "Yes, sir." He then said, "We are to travel over a country where there are no roads and we must take it as we find it. If you upset my mess wagon on this trip, I will hang you to the wagon-tongue." I answered, "All right, General; I'll take the chances."

The story of the journey from Camp Supply to the scene of

the Washita fight, of the finding of the bodies of Major Elliott, Sergeant-major Kennedy and their fallen comrades, of the discovery of the remains of Mrs. Blinn and her little boy (who had been killed by the Indians of one of the villages below that of Black Kettle), and of the march down the valley to Fort Cobb, has been told by others. We remained encamped at Fort Cobb for several weeks. It was while we were in camp there that I had one very unpleasant experience.⁶

We had been traveling and marching through a country that was alive with game and we had feasted on venison, and buffalo meat and wild turkey and prairie chicken until we had been surfeited with game. So, a day or two before Christmas, it was proposed that we "throw in" and buy a yearling from a ranch which was located several miles below camp in the valley of the Washita, and have fresh beef for our Christmas dinner. With one of the other teamsters who belonged to my mess, I was chosen to go and purchase the yearling and bring it to camp. Between our camp at Fort Cobb and the cattle ranch there were two villages of friendly Indians—Wichitas, Caddoes and other fragmentary tribes. The troops of the command had been ordered to keep away from these Indian villages. The teamster who was to go with me after the yearling had mounted and started on ahead while I was saddling the pony which I was to ride. I started out to overtake him, but was stopped just outside the camp by a provost guard, who asked where I was going and, upon being informed of the object of my mission, demanded my pass. As I had no pass to leave camp, he arrested me and took me up to General Custer's headquarters and reported. General Custer did not come out of his tent, but I heard him give the order to take me to the guard house and make me carry a log in language that was more forcible than elegant.

The guard house was not a house at all—just a vacant place in the camp. I was taken there, where I selected a stick of green cottonwood, which did not look very heavy then, but which seemed to grow heavier afterward. As the weather was cold, I did not feel like standing still and so, shouldering the chunk of wood, I began marching around in a circle. The wagon master

⁶ Custer's "Wild Life on the Plains," pp. 253-66; Keim's "Sheridan's Troopers on the Border," pp. 128-60; "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry," by Horace L. Moore, Kansas Historical Society, Vol. VI., "Collections," pp. 40-43; "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry and the Conquest of the Plains Indians," by James Albert Hadley, *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 443-5. Consult also "Personal Memoirs of General Philip H. Sheridan "

of our train (Joe Perkins) came to see me and he went to the master of transportation in my behalf, but that functionary was drunk and refused to interfere. I kept on tramping around in a circle, all that night and all the next day, with intermission for meals. Christmas eve passed and the little cottonwood log continued to grow heavier as I tramped on through another long night. I was wearied beyond expression and both shoulders were blistered and raw. The larger part of Christmas day was celebrated in the same seemingly endless tramping around the circle with the log still on my shoulder. Then General Sheridan, who happened to be passing, saw me. To say that he was surprised would be putting it mildly.

"Johnny, what does this mean?" he asked and, before I could answer, "How long have you been here?" By way of reply, I unbuttoned my shirt and showed him two lacerated shoulders. His exclamations which followed would not bear repetition here. Things happened pretty fast then. I never saw the General walk as rapidly, either before or afterward, as he did when he went to call successively on the wagon master, the master of transportation, the officer of the day and General Custer. He even reproached me for not having sent for him, instead of waiting for some one else to take the matter up in my behalf. Boy that I was, I naturally appreciated the championship and friendship of such a man.

After remaining several weeks in camp at Fort Cobb, the command was marched over to General Grierson's camp, at Medicine Bluff, near the eastern base of the Wichita Mountains.

While we were at this camp some soldiers exploring the basaltic cliff which is known as Medicine Bluff found near its base a den of rattlesnakes. A large number of the venomous reptiles, which were in a semi-torpid condition, were killed. In fact, to tell the truth about the number and size of the rattlesnakes which were found in that den and killed would be a snake story that would tax the credulity of any person who did not see the results of the slaughter with his own eyes.⁷

⁷ The story of the rattlesnake den at Medicine Bluff was related by De B. Randolph Keim, in his book, "Sheridan's Troops on the Border," as follows:

"In the absence of other excitement the volunteers (19th Kansas Cavalry) pryed into every nook and corner in all the country round and frequently found marvelous things. Among these was a rattlesnake den. One afternoon early in February, in company with several of the officers at headquarters, I visited this latest wonder.

"At the base of the cliff, opposite the most lofty portion of Medicine Bluff, reached only by a narrow and dangerous ledge, sometimes but six inches in width,

While we were in camp at Medicine Bluff, General Sheridan approved of the selection of the site of the new post, which had been made by General Grierson. It was still called Camp Wichita, but was subsequently named Fort Sill by the War Department. Pat Byrnes, who was the driver of the General's ambulance, was sick the day that General Sheridan was to set the stakes for the parade ground and he asked me to take his place, which I did. General Sheridan remarked the change in

leading down to the water's brink, was an opening underlying the large masses of superincumbent rock. The crevice ran horizontally, being about twelve feet long, and in height or width about twelve inches. At one end was an elongated opening of about two feet. In front was an immense barren rock which extended to the water. Farther down was a small space of soil, covered with grass. The cliff here had a slight concavity, the extremities abutting abruptly upon the water. The space thus cut off from all access, except by water or the ledge already mentioned, did not cover an area of over fifty feet in length and, at its widest part, six feet wide. The cliff rose fully a hundred feet above. What inducement could ever have tempted any one to make this perilous descent in the first instance was a mystery to me. It was with extreme difficulty, after having first climbed down a scraggy cedar which obstructed the upper end of the ledge, that I could make it. I managed it only by getting down on all fours, sometimes lying flat out and by degrees working down. But one of my companions followed.

"The space below was covered with a sickening spectacle. A mass of enormous 'diamond' rattlesnakes were lying in all states of mutilation. Some were without heads; all without tails. The largest and, in fact, the majority, were completely skinned. As I learned afterward, the hideous skins were used by the 'Kansas boys' for belts. The skins and rattles were also considered as possessing mysterious medical agencies. It was rather appalling to be in the midst of such a population of the most dreaded and venomous reptile of the plains, even though lifeless. My imagination would sometimes invest the horrid mass with motion. The effect was startling. I invariably felt a proclivity to get on the high ground overhead.

"Several of these largest reptiles, poked out laid at full length, measured not less than eight feet from head to tail—that is, what was left of these extremities—and, at the thickest part, were six inches in diameter. It may be imagined what a sight a knitted mass of raw, purplish flesh, and such shapes, must have presented. The main pile of defunct reptiles would have made a cart-load and, besides, the rocks and crags had been elaborately decorated by the 'boys.'

"The space leading to the den had the appearance of having been the scene of hibernation of the snake family for centuries. The hard rock was worn and slimy. When these indications of some sort of a creature making the den its abode were discovered, the adventurous explorers secured a long pole. While one was poling up the unknown occupants within, the others stood around the entrance with pistols and carbines loaded, ready to greet the first appearance of the denizens, whatever they might be, of that inaccessible abode. After a few minutes poking, a huge old monster of a rattlesnake, which seemed to be the patriarch of the community, crawled out in a semi-torpid condition.

"His snakeship was promptly dispatched, and his enormous length drawn out of the den. Not supposing that this was the rightful possessor of the premises, a little more lively poking brought to light a few more offended monsters, which were likewise dispatched. The business, according to these invaders of the snake dominions, now became quite lively. The snakes on top, exposed to the rather chill atmosphere of the den, dragged themselves along slowly. Those that came after were a little more active and kept the besiegers quite busily employed.

"Over two hundred snakes were thus drawn from their comfortable quarters and promptly dispatched. I saw, at the time of my visit, the remains of one hundred and forty-eight. A number had been thrown into the stream and not a few had been packed off to camp by the discoverers as trophies of the engagement. Eubsequent visitors carried off a snake or two as a souvenir."

drivers and I explained how I happened to be on duty instead of his regular ambulance driver. After driving over the ground and selecting the site, General Sheridan alighted from the ambulance and, stooping down, held a stake to be driven into the ground as a marker for one angle of the parade ground. Several members of his staff were present and some one seized an ax to drive the stake into the ground, when General Sheridan said, "Hold on, I want Johnny to drive this stake." And so it happened that I had a part in marking the site of Fort Sill. The new post was named at the General's suggestion in honor of Gen. Joshua Sill, who had been a classmate of the General's at West Point, and who was killed in action while in command of a brigade in General Sheridan's Division at the battle of Stone River.

Along in the latter part of February, General Sheridan received orders by courier to report at Washington. Before starting for the railroad at Hays, Kansas, by way of Camp Supply and Fort Dodge, he made me promise that I would go to his headquarters, in Chicago, where he said he would have a place for me. At the time, I fully intended to go, but the frontier life held such a charm for me that I never went to Chicago. I did not see the General again until after the lapse of more than sixteen years, when he came to Darlington and Fort Reno, at the time of the threatened outbreak of the Cheyennes, in the summer of 1885, and then I came in for some good-natured scolding for having failed to keep my promise to go to Chicago.

Our train returned from Fort Sill to Camp Supply by a different route from that which we had traversed in coming from the last mentioned post. We went westward along the southern base of the Wichita Mountains to the valley of the North Fork of Red River, which followed northward through the present Kiowa County and thence across to Major Inman's supply camp on the Washita, near the site where Black Kettle's village had been destroyed, and on across the Canadian toward Camp Supply. From thence we drove on to Forts Dodge and Hays. At the last mentioned post we turned in our outfits and were lined up to receive our pay when John Curley, master of transportation, came down the line and, stopping in front of me, asked, "Young man, do you want to work?" I replied, "Yes, sir," whereupon he took me to the post quartermaster (Captain Kimball) and said, "Here is the young man I have selected to take charge of the herd." If Captain Kimball recognized me as one of the

men who refused to work unless their own teams were given back to them, he gave no indication of the fact. I was given entire charge of the herd of 500 mules that were not needed for further service at that post and I employed ten of the teamsters of my own train to help me. When I was relieved of that work as the result of the disposition of the animals, I went back to Camp Supply as assistant blacksmith. Unfortunately for me, Major Kirk,⁸ the post quartermaster at Camp Supply, had been instructed to find employment in the post blacksmith shop for Dick Curtis, who had been the Government interpreter for the Cheyennes while the Agency was at Fort Larned. As I was the last man to be hired, this let me out. However, I was offered a position as herder for the cattle which had been brought to Camp Supply to be issued to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, which I accepted. Captain Kimball sent word that he would find a place for me at Fort Hays but, as I had already taken charge of the beef herd, I decided to remain at Camp Supply. Eventually, this led me into the permanent service of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency and so I have been living in Oklahoma ever since.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency had been removed from Fort Larned, Kansas, to Camp Supply, Indian Territory, immediately after the establishment of the last mentioned post. By the terms of the treaty which was negotiated with the chiefs and head men of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes at the Medicine Lodge peace council, in the autumn of 1867, the people of those tribes were to have a reservation between the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers. A site for the Agency was selected by Agent Darlington on Pond Creek, where one building was erected and sixty acres of land were broken. But, because of the strained relations then existing between the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes on the one side, and the Osage and Kaw tribes on the other, the Cheyenne and Arapaho people refused to settle on the reservation which had thus been assigned to them and so they were assigned to the one south of the Cherokee Strip

⁸ Ezra B. Kirk entered the volunteer military service, April 20, 1861, as an enlisted man in the 71st New York State Militia. He was commissioned a first lieutenant of the 14th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, August 15, 1861; was promoted to captain and assistant quartermaster of volunteers, December 5, 1863, and was commissioned captain and assistant quartermaster, U. S. Army, July 28, 1866. He was brevetted major and lieutenant colonel for faithful and meritorious services in the quartermaster department in the field. He was promoted to major and quartermaster, August 31, 1883, and was placed on the retired list August 8, 1894.

by executive proclamation. The Agency was located temporarily at Camp Supply and the site for its permanent location, where the Chisholm Trail, or Fort Sill Military Road crossed the North Canadian River, was occupied in the spring of 1870.

I came down from Camp Supply to the site of the new Agency in company with the chief clerk, arriving in the latter part of April. In May, I returned to Camp Supply for the agent. On the way back to the new Agency in company with Agent Darlington, we camped at a place known as Cottonwood Grove, which was on the North Canadian River, some distance above Sheridan's Roost. Black Crow, an Apache Indian, ate dinner with us the day we reached Cottonwood Grove. When he left, he repaid our hospitality by stealing our wagon sheet. I followed him, took it from him and upbraided him for his meanness. He then dogged our trail and, that night while we were asleep at Cottonwood Grove, he sneaked in and stole three of our four mules. Leaving the agent alone with the wagon, I trailed the missing animals for many miles but, in the end, I had to return without them and then leave the agent again, to ride to the agency for another team. Agent Darlington stood the hardships and exposure of his long, lonely wait without complaint. Several months later, the stolen mules were recovered at the Wichita Agency where they were found in the possession of the Kiowas.

At the new Agency I strove to make myself generally useful. I ran the saw-mill, did some blacksmithing, acted as cook, teamster, herder, etc. At one time the chief clerk of the Agency became dissatisfied with the manner in which my duties were performed and he attempted to discharge me, but his action was disapproved by Agent Darlington. The cattle which were purchased for issue to the Indians were delivered in lots of as many as 1,000 at a time. With two men to help me, I had charge of this herd, which was kept in the vicinity of the Agency. In the summer of 1871, while thus engaged caring for the herd, we made our headquarters in a shack or shanty made of slabs of cottonwood lumber and located at a distance of two or three miles from the Agency.

A little Arapaho boy, not over ten or eleven years old, became very frindly with the herders and spent much of his time around this camp. He had his own pony and, as he was bright,

active and of an obliging disposition, he made himself very useful, running errands or otherwise aiding us in our work. He often ate with us and sometimes stayed all night at our camp. After some weeks he disappeared. We missed him and wondered at his absence but supposed he would soon return. Several days later a band of Arapaho Indians came to our camp. They could not talk and were evidently in an ugly humor. With them was Mrs. Mary Keith, an intelligent woman of mixed Arapaho and white extraction. Everything about our camp was scrutinized with great care but none of the Indians would talk. We asked what was wanted and tried to find out what the trouble was but even Mrs. Keith, who was their interpreter, was non-communicative. We realized that we were under suspicion but were in the dark as to its cause. Although we knew we had not wronged the Indians in any way, we became very anxious. Finally they left us without enlightening us as to the cause of the visit. Later on, they found the remains of the little Arapaho boy in a ravine a mile or two farther from the Agency. His body was taken up and carried to the Arapaho village amid great lamentations. He had been murdered and his pony was missing. Apparently the Arapahoes did not think that we would have killed the boy for his pony, though they still avoided us. Some months later, some Arapahoes who were visiting at the Wichita Agency found the pony that had belonged to the little boy who had been killed. It was in the possession of some of the Indians there and they said they had bought it from a Mexican. The Arapaho visitors waited until the Mexican appeared, when they promptly shot and killed him and started for home. Shortly after this, we received a visit from the father and mother and some of the other relatives of the murdered lad, who greeted us with every demonstration of friendliness in an evident effort to make amends for having unjustly suspicioned us.

Brinton Darlington was an old man when he was appointed agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes. He did not bring his family with him to the Territory, though two of his daughters (Mrs. Townsend and Mrs. Covington), whose husbands were employed at the Agency, made their homes there for the time being. Agent Darlington won the confidence of the Indians to a most remarkable degree and, when he died, they

mourned for him as they would have mourned for one of their own leaders. John Smith, the Agency interpreter, who had been with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes for forty years, said he had never witnessed such manifestations of affection and respect by them for any white man before.

In the spring of 1871, Left Hand, who was one of the war chiefs of the Arapaho tribe, asked permission of Agent Darlington to go to Colorado on a hostile raid against the people of the Ute tribe, who were the hereditary enemies of the Arapaho, Cheyenne and other tribes of the Plains. Of course, the agent was opposed to anything of that kind, yet, not wishing to offend Left Hand⁹ by an arbitrary refusal, he promised to refer the request to the Interior Department, at Washington, in the hope that, by delaying the matter, the project might be given up. Left Hand waited a reasonable length of time for a reply from Washington, as he thought, and then, with a party of 150 young Arapaho braves, he left the reservation and set out on the long journey across the Plains toward the haunts of the hated Utes. He had been gone three days when a letter was received from the Commissioner of Indians Affairs, instructing Agent Darlington to prevent the raid by all means. The agent called for volunteers to follow Left Hand and his band and bring them back to the reservation. I agreed to go with Yellow Bear,¹⁰ one of the other war chiefs of the Arapaho tribe, and

⁹ Left Hand, who was long regarded as one of the leading chiefs and counselors of the Arapaho tribe, was born about 1838. In his young manhood he distinguished himself as a leader among his people, especially in war. He was generally reputed to have been one of the principal actors in the scene in the valley of Sergeant-Major Creek, Roger Mills County, which culminated in the death of Major Joel H. Elliott, four noncommissioned officers and ten privates of the 7th U. S. Cavalry, during the battle of the Washita, November 27, 1868. In later life he became converted to Christianity and was a devoted member of the Baptist Church, in which he was as much marked for his humility and gentleness as he ever had been for his bravery and endurance on the war path in the turbulent days of his young manhood. In his old age he lost his eyesight and became totally blind, an affliction which he accepted with patience and resignation. He was a man of great dignity and strong character, was respected by the white people who knew him and was revered as a patriarch by his own people. He died at his home, near Watonga, Oklahoma, in 1913. The other war chiefs of the Arapaho tribe at that time were Big Mouth, Powder Face, Yellow Bear and White Shield. Little Raven was the head council chief and was generally looked upon as the leading man of the tribe.

¹⁰ Although he was numbered among the war chiefs of the Arapaho tribe, Yellow Bear seemed to have been a man of pacific disposition, especially in his attitude toward the whites. He took an active part in aiding the attempt of Generals Sheridan and Custer to open negotiations with the hostile Cheyennes during the Washita Campaign and was regarded with confidence by them, as evidenced by General Custer's account in his "Wild Life on the Plains," pp. 176-329. He was recognized by the Arapahoes as a chief second in rank only to Little Raven.

endeavor to bring Left Hand and his followers back to the Agency.

As already stated, the raiding band had been gone three days, so it promised some hard riding to overtake them. Yellow Bear could not speak English and I could not speak Arapaho, hence all of our communication had to be by means of the sign language. Our course led almost due west from Darlington and, after crossing the South Canadian River, we followed the divide between that stream and the Washita beyond the confines of the Territory into the Texas Panhandle. At every creek crossing were to be found certain signs marked in the sand by members of the raiding party. Yellow Bear was always able to read and understand these signs. We kept on our course to the west, still following the trail of Left Hand and his war party until, after having traveled eight or nine days, we overtook them.

When we came in sight of the runaways, Yellow Bear would not consent to approach their camp in daylight, saying that they might mistake us for enemies and fire on us. After dark, however, we rode boldly into the camp and were well received. Supper was served and pipes were smoked. Yellow Bear broke the news concerning our mission in pursuing and overtaking them. Then Left Hand insisted that I should tell it. I explained by signs that it was difficult for me to do so. Then, to my amazement, a young brave came up and said in good English, "Tell me; I will interpret it." So I told my story in English and it was duly interpreted into Arapaho. Strangely enough, I never saw that young brave again, or, if I did, I failed to recognize him.

Left Hand was then in the early prime of manhood, about thirty-two or thirty-three years old, handsome, lithe and athletic, and a man of strong personality and possessed of a large measure of magnetism when it came to enlisting the support and following of his fellow tribesmen. Before we lay down for the night, Left Hand came and shook my hand and informed me that they would let me know their decision the next morning. They counselled over the matter that night and, when morning came, they told me that they had decided to obey the agent's directions and that they would start back to the reservation without delay. They were in sight of the Rocky Mountains

when they were thus turned back. The return trip was made much more slowly, as there was much hunting done along the way.

After the death of Agent Darlington, John D. Miles,¹¹ agent for the Kickapoo Indians in Kansas, was transferred to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency. He was a man in the early prime of life and he brought energy and zeal and tact and wholeheartedness to the discharge of the duties of his new position. His wife and young children accompanied him. The village which had grown up at the Agency became known as Darlington, having been so named in honor of the agent who established it.

Each year the Indians were permitted to go out on the Plains to hunt buffalo. As the buffalo decreased in numbers, the Indians became more restless and dissatisfied. The extension of the railways from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains had made the buffalo ranges easily accessible to white hunters and also offered a cheap and easy means of transportation for hides, tongues and meat. Convinced that the buffalo herds would soon be exterminated unless something was done to put a stop to the wanton slaughter, certain bands of the Cheyenne, Comanche and Kiowa tribes finally decided to go on the war path in the summer of 1874.

A short time before the time set for the outbreak a band of young Cheyennes, led by a son of Little Robe, were up near the Kansas line, where they came in contact with some whiskey

¹¹ John De Bras Miles was born at Dayton, Ohio, June 7, 1832. His father was of English extraction and his mother's family was of French origin. He was reared on a farm in Miami County, Ohio, where he received a common school education. This training was afterward supplemented by a full course in a business college at Richmond, Indiana. At the age of seventeen, he engaged in teaching school and, at the age of twenty, entered the merchandising and milling business at Wabash, Indiana. In the winter of 1868-9, he was appointed U. S. Indian agent for the Kickapoo tribe, then living on a reservation near Atchison, Kansas. In 1871, he was sent as a special commissioner to the Republic of Mexico to secure the removal of the Mexican Kickapoo band back to the United States. In 1872, he was transferred to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, at Darlington, Indian Territory, as agent to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Brinton Darlington. In 1877, he was sent as special commissioner to the agency of the Uncompahgre Utes, in Colorado, to adjust the differences between the Indians of that tribe and the white settlers who were at war over a disputed boundary line. After holding his position as Indian agent at Darlington for twelve years, he resigned in 1884, and accepted the position of attorney for Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians. After the opening of Oklahoma to settlement, in 1889, he took an active part in the movements incident to the proposed organization of the Territory. His home was at Lawrence, Kansas, for many years, but in recent years he has made his home on a ranch near Sutherland Springs, Texas, where he still lives (1919).

peddlers. The latter secured possession of young Little Robe's horses without paying for them. He attempted to recover them by force when his demand was refused. In the melee which followed, he was wounded and the report was brought back that he had been killed. At once there was turmoil in the Cheyenne camps and they prepared to leave the reservation at once without further delay. Before leaving, the warriors came in a body to the Agency where they stated that they would not hurt any one or destroy any property there, but that they were going out to make war on the white buffalo hunters. Agent Miles asked me to carry a dispatch to Fort Sill, which was then the nearest military post. I left Darlington at 9 p. m. (as soon as it was dark), and I arrived at Fort Sill at sun-rise the next morning, covering the entire distance of seventy miles on one horse. Col. W. J. Davidson, the post commander, immediately ordered two troops of the 10th Cavalry to prepare to march to Darlington. The column started about 9 a. m. I rested at Fort Sill all of that day and started back to Darlington that night. I passed the troops in camp on the South Canadian about 4 a. m. the next morning and rode on in to the Agency, the troops following and arriving about 9 a. m. I had made the entire trip both ways on the same horse—a small sorrel Texas bronco, weighing a trifle less than 900 pounds. After eating my breakfast I remounted the little sorrel and, just at noon, on the day following, I dismounted at the telegraph office at Wichita, Kansas, to file dispatches to the Army headquarters and to the Indian office. I had covered the distance of more than 200 miles from Fort Sill without changing my saddle. The little sorrel never seemed to tire and he was ready to start on the return trip long before I was.

There was a white man who loafed about the Agency and who took a fancy to this horse. Although we knew nothing of this man's antecedents, he was supposed to be a renegade. He insisted that I should put a price on the animal. Naturally, I did not want to sell. Finally, he offered to trade me another horse and give me \$150.00 "to boot." Reasoning that the fellow would probably steal the horse if I refused to sell and that the cash consideration would indemnify me in case some one else put in an appearance to claim ownership to the other horse, I made the trade. The new owner rode the little sorrel away and

that was the last I saw of him. Later, I learned that the man was killed in a battle with peace officers just across the Red River, in Texas, while riding this horse.

The Northern Cheyenne Indians were brought to the Darlington Agency in 1877 and 1878. The Cheyenne tribe had been divided for more than forty years, a minority of its people refusing to go with the majority when it moved from the region of the Black Hills and the Platte over to the region of the Arkansas, in Colorado. During all that time the two divisions had lived as distinct tribes, though occasionally acting together in war. At the conclusion of the Sioux War of 1876-7, during which the Northern Cheyennes had been overpowered and captured, the War Department arbitrarily decided to forcibly reunite the Northern Cheyennes with their kinsmen of the Southern Cheyenne tribe. The Cheyennes are by nature a proud and high-spirited people and, in this the Northern Cheyennes were not exceptional. They naturally resented the policy which would force them to merge their separate tribal identity of more than a generation with that of the other branch of the tribe, not through any feeling of enmity toward their Southern Cheyenne kinsmen, but rather that they felt that they were entitled to be consulted in the matter. For this reason they were more than dissatisfied with their lot and situation at the Darlington Agency. Moreover, as their southern kinsmen had been drifting southward during the years of separation, they had been drifting northward and their range had been in Montana and adjacent parts of Wyoming and Dakotas, in a semi-mountainous region the climate of which was quite different from that of the Indian Territory, hence there was much sickness and a number of deaths among them and this added to their discontent and smoldering resentment.

When Dull Knife, the Northern Cheyenne chief, and his band broke away and left the reservation, Major Mizner,¹² the post commander at Fort Reno, sent two troops of cavalry, un-

¹² John K. Mizner, a native of New York, was appointed as a cadet and entered the United States Military Academy in 1852. He graduated in 1856 and was commissioned a 2d lieutenant of the 2d Dragoons. He was promoted to 1st lieutenant, May 9, 1861, and to captain of the 2d Cavalry, November 12 of the same year. During the latter part of the Civil War, he was colonel of a Michigan cavalry regiment. He became major of the 4th Cavalry in 1869, lieutenant colonel of the 8th Cavalry, in 1888, and colonel of the 10th Cavalry in 1890. He was retired, June 7, 1897, and died September 8, 1898.

der Captains Rendelbrock and Gunther, but the fugitives succeeded in eluding pursuit, although the troops seemed to have them headed off several times. They committed no depredations when they first started, but began active hostilities when they reached the cattle ranges of the Cherokee Strip and they left a trail of death and destruction behind them as they raided northward across the state of Kansas.

When John D. Miles became agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians, the nearest railway station was at Wichita, Kansas, which was 160 miles distant from Darlington. All goods and supplies destined for the Agency, therefore, had to be hauled by wagon upon contract. The Indians were commonly regarded as being too indolent to work. As a matter of fact, there was little or nothing for most of them to do. At Agent Miles' suggestion a number of the Indians were induced to draw the amount due them in annuities in the form of wagons and harness—they had horses. When they had broken their horses to work in harness, they were ready to drive to Wichita for a load of goods. Thereafter the business of hauling supplies from the railway to the Agency was almost entirely done by Indians, who received the same compensation that white contractors had received for the same service. The Indian wagon train became known as the Cheyenne & Arapaho Transportation Company. I had charge of this train as wagon master for several years, during the course of which I had many very interesting experiences with the Indians. On one trip, all of the teamsters would be Cheyennes and, on the next trip only Arapahoes were taken along as teamsters.

For some years after the Agency at Darlington was established, the sole source of revenue to the Indians (aside from their annuities) was the buffalo robes which they secured each year. When the buffalo herds finally disappeared and the hunts had to be discontinued, this source of revenue was gone. After the lands of the Cherokee Strip and the Unassigned District had been occupied by cattle ranges, the leasing of Indian lands for use as cattle ranges began to be agitated. The people of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes finally leased their lands to cattlemen. The agent and the authorities of the Indian office had nothing to do with it, the proceeds of the leases—\$87,000.00 per annum—being paid directly to the Indians. I know personally

that Agent Miles had flattering offers made to him if he would use his influence in favor of this, that or the other party who wished to secure a lease, but he absolutely and positively declined to take any hand in the matter other than to advise and counsel the Indians to lease for the best price. Ultimately, the leases thus executed led to trouble and were the cause of great excitement in the summer of 1885, when the danger of an alleged Indian uprising caused the shipment of a large body of troops to the border of the Indian Territory. As a consequence, General Sheridan recommended that all cattle should be ordered to be removed from the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservations, which was done under a proclamation by President Cleveland.

I continued to live at Darlington until the opening of the Oklahoma country to white settlement. I had often been urged to embark in the cattle business during the later 'seventies and early 'eighties, but only once did I essay such a venture and then I lost all that I put into it, because I placed too much confidence in the man with whom I became associated as a partner. With the opening of the country to white settlement, my lot became that of other pioneers of the time.

Most of the men with whom I was associated while in the Indian Service have long since crossed the Great Divide. Ed Guerrier, the French-Cheyenne half-breed, for whom the town of Geary, in Blaine County, was named, still lives at Porcupine, South Dakota. His wife was a daughter of Colonel William Bent, of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. Her brother, Robert, died just at the time of the opening of Oklahoma to settlement, in 1889. Her brother, George Bent, died at Colony, in May, 1918. Dick Curtis, whose wife was a Sioux woman, but who was an adopted member of the Cheyenne tribe, died about 1872. Phil McCusker, who was a noted scout, lost his life during the great blizzard, in January 1886. But little is known of his antecedents and early life, though he was said to have been a soldier in the Regular Army, before the Civil War, and was reputed to have been an officer in the Confederate Army. Jimmie Morrison was another old timer who died long since. He had been a clerk and interpreter for Agent Wynkoop, at Fort Larned. His wife was a daughter of Big Mouth, a leading chief of the Arapahoes. Jimmie was a prominent cattleman during the early 'eighties. David Tramp, a Creole-French trapper, one

of the last survivors of the Rocky Mountain fur-trade era, died at Colony, about twenty-five years ago. John Seger still lives at Colony and Agent Miles is yet living in Texas. Practically all of the leading men of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes of forty years ago are dead.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Kingfisher, Oklahoma, May 28, 1923.

A special meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, authorized by a vote of the last annual meeting, having been called to convene at Kingfisher for the purpose of commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the organization of the Society, a number of members visited the city for the purpose of attending such a meeting. A heavy rain storm which prevailed during the greater part of the previous week prevented the attendance from being as large as it otherwise would have been. The meeting convened in the dining room of the Central Hotel, in which the Society was organized May 27, 1893, the hotel being known as the Johnson House.

Luncheon was served, after which Mr. C. P. Wickmiller of Kingfisher as toastmaster, called the assembly to order and made a brief address, in the course of which he told of his first visit to Oklahoma, as the official photographer of Payne's Oklahoma colony, on the occasion of its first invasion of the Unassigned lands, then commonly known as the "Oklahoma Country," in the early part of 1883. He especially mentioned the speech which Captain Payne made after the arrival of the Colony on the site of the proposed settlement and quoted Payne as closing his speech by saying, "Boys, if we do nothing else, we are at least making history."

Hon. George L. Bowman of Kingfisher was then introduced to deliver an address welcoming the visiting members of the Society to Kingfisher, which he did in most felicitous terms.

Mr. Jasper Sipes, President of the Society, was then called upon to respond. In the course of his response, President Sipes referred to the number of leading citizens whom Kingfisher had given to the public service of the Territory and State, mentioning Governor Seay, Secretary Grimes, Judge Kane, Mr. and Mrs. Pat Nagle and others almost equally as well known. He also took occasion to pay a tribute to Wm. P. Campbell, who was the real founder of the Oklahoma Historical

Society, and who has ever been indefatigable in his efforts in its behalf as its custodian.

Hon. D. W. Perry of Carnegie was introduced as a man who had helped locate the capital at Kingfisher. Mr. Peery introduced his remarks by paying a fine tribute to the ability and sterling worth of Hon. Wm. C. McCartney, who represented Kingfisher County in the Upper House of the Territorial Legislative Assembly in its first session in 1890-91. Mr. Peery then recited at considerable length the story of the struggle for the location of the Territorial capital during the first session, when he was a member of the Lower House and of his efforts to locate it at Kingfisher, after the governor had vetoed the bill locating it at Oklahoma City. Because of the personal interest involved, Mr. Peery's address was listened to with the keenest attention and interest.

Mrs. Michael Conlan was then introduced and spoke briefly of her work as Field Collector of the Society and emphasized especially the importance of aiding the Society in its efforts to gather up all sorts of historical material, both for library and museum and warning that much of it would be lost if not secured soon.

Mr. J. B. Thoburn, Secretary of the Society, was then called for and introduced. Mr. Thoburn confined his remarks to the local history of Kingfisher and its immediate vicinity, suggesting and urging especially that a marker should be put on the site of the old Kingfisher stage station and another one on one of the approaches of the ford over which Kingfisher Creek was crossed by the Chisholm Trail.

Mr. W. P. Campbell, Custodian of the Society, was then introduced and read a brief address which is preserved elsewhere.

Mrs. Annette D. Ehler of Hennessey, was then called for and introduced. In her bright and witty way she congratulated the Society on having chosen a good county in which to be organized, mentioning that Kingfisher and Kingfisher County is a good place in which to inaugurate any enterprise and urged the Society and its members to feel free to come back there for inspiration at any time.

The meeting was then adjourned.

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